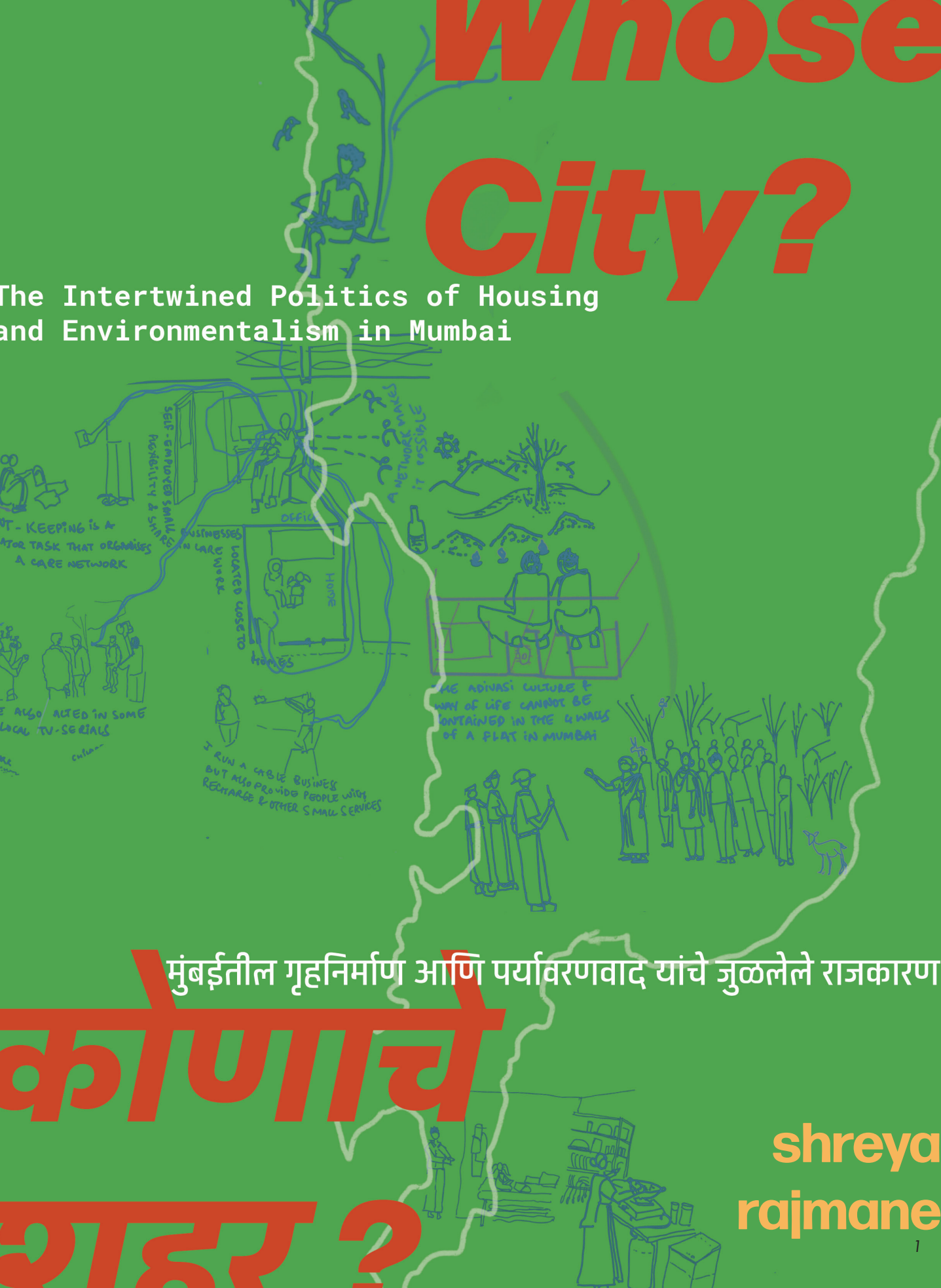


## मुंबईतील गृहनिर्माण आणि पर्यावरणवाद यांचे जुळलेले राजकारण

1





**Whose City?** The Intertwined Politics of Housing and Environmentalism in Mumbai  
**Final Report for A3 Assessment**  
 May 2026

Student: [Shreya Rajmane](#)  
 Student number: 6167780  
 Faculty of Architecture and Built Environment, TU Delft  
 Track: Urbanism

Graduation Cluster: Designing by Feminist Values

Supervisors: [Dr. Irene Luque Martín](#) & [Dr. Juliana Gonçalves](#)

Travel Funding:



Figure 01: Adivasi Pada and a Slum Settlement in the SGNP, Mumbai  
 Source: Author





# acknowledgments

This thesis was an incredible journey of building courage and hope, made possible by the love and support of my people – mentors, friends, family, and the people of the Sanjay Gandhi National Park.

I would like to extend my thanks to Irene and Juliana for their guidance. To Irene, for being there since day one of my master's journey and for encouraging me to hack the system, break my boundaries, allow my whimsies without judgment, endlessly encouraging me to design, and not giving up on us even in difficult times. I hope to regain my faith in the design industry little by little. To Juliana, for listening patiently since I first had the idea to research this topic. For untangling my thoughts, every time I was lost, and for caring for every little detail. Thank you both for setting the feminist in me ablaze. You give me the strength to believe in myself and act through my instincts.

I also take this opportunity to thank all the amazing humans of the graduation cluster 'Designing by Feminist Values'. I would be honestly lost without you. Caroline and Roberto, thank you for creating a space to believe in things that really matter through- the Center for the Just City and the Summer School. You guys made sure I remained inspired throughout my master's journey. Special thanks to Megha, Jonne, Adriano, and Fleur for sharing your zest for a feminist cult and helping me develop the illegal urbanist.

I am forever grateful to the people of SGNP who truly ignited my soul. Shoutout to Aslam for introducing me to the communities and always picking up my calls. I hope our collaborations continue in the future. To the amazing humans of the Adivasi community, whom I unfortunately cannot name in this acknowledgment, thank you for feeding me and making me feel at home every time I visited. My regards to the residents of Damu Nagar for taking the time to chat with me about everything. I would also like to thank Ankush, Rohan, and Rashmi from KRVIA for sharing their detailed research on the SGNP, which I am grateful to have built upon. Thanks to my friends in Mumbai, Vaibhav, Riyesh, Ajinkya, and Sakshi, who encouraged me and made things easier in Mumbai. Lastly, I would like to thank the EFL Foundation and the Philip Spangenberg Travel Fund for helping me cover the costs of my fieldwork.

To Polis and all my friends in this master's – Anika, Soroush, Aparnaa, Ritika, Alankrita. Jaee, thank you for being there from the pre-start of this master's. For challenging me to think more radically.

Moksha, a special thanks for sharing everything, being my go-to person in life and in work, and for humbling and challenging me. Viral, Uday, Anamik, and Komal, thank you for making the Netherlands feel a bit more homely. And to Héctor for being anxious together, but also calming me down and reminding me that there is life outside the university. A special thanks to Camila and Matthijs for their expert advice at critical points in my research.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my parents, without whom this master's journey would not have been possible. To my sister Shruti, for always having my back. You have all my heart.



# positionality

**This statement that grows and adapts as it grows, is a work in progress....**

As a spatial practitioner, I would like to set some non-negotiables that guide my journey through this thesis and as an urbanist. These guiding principles come from some work experience, eye opening readings, a lot of internal conflict, fear, joy, discussions with friends and mentors and importantly putting myself outside of my comfort zone.

- Urbanism cannot happen without people.
- Focus on CENTERING not inclusion (who includes whom?).
- Politics (everyday) makes space. Power & hierarchies need to be addressed in making space.
- Planning cannot be without its political role.
- When confused, "treat it as a right" " हक़ समझ के करो"
- Adequate Good housing is a RIGHT.
- Access to healthy natural environment is a RIGHT
- Aim for joy and happiness not efficiency in planning and design.
- Decolonize the planning language.
- Urbanism is activism and storytelling.

To be continued.....

# motivation

In contexts of cities that are essentially made from contestation, spaces that prioritize capital, aesthetics and nature (in isolation to people), its urban poor and marginalized communities have been systemically left off the map. Right to the city for a majority of citizens still remains unrecognized. Why are issues of environmental justice often in misalignment with or even used as a justification for creating spatial injustices? In contrast, the burdens of the climate crisis most heavily affect the displaced..

My involvement with the Missing Basti collective in creating a digital counter-mapping archive of forced evictions alongside grassroots activists in Delhi exposed me to these stark contradictions, which I would like to further investigate through my graduation project. The process of 'masterplanning' in Indian cities, a practice deeply rooted in colonial practices of control, needs to be countered through a feminist approach that is rooted in care and co-creation - for a hopeful future. This thesis is also a way for me to bring together my interest in landscape, ecology, and social justice with participatory and feminist methods of research and design.

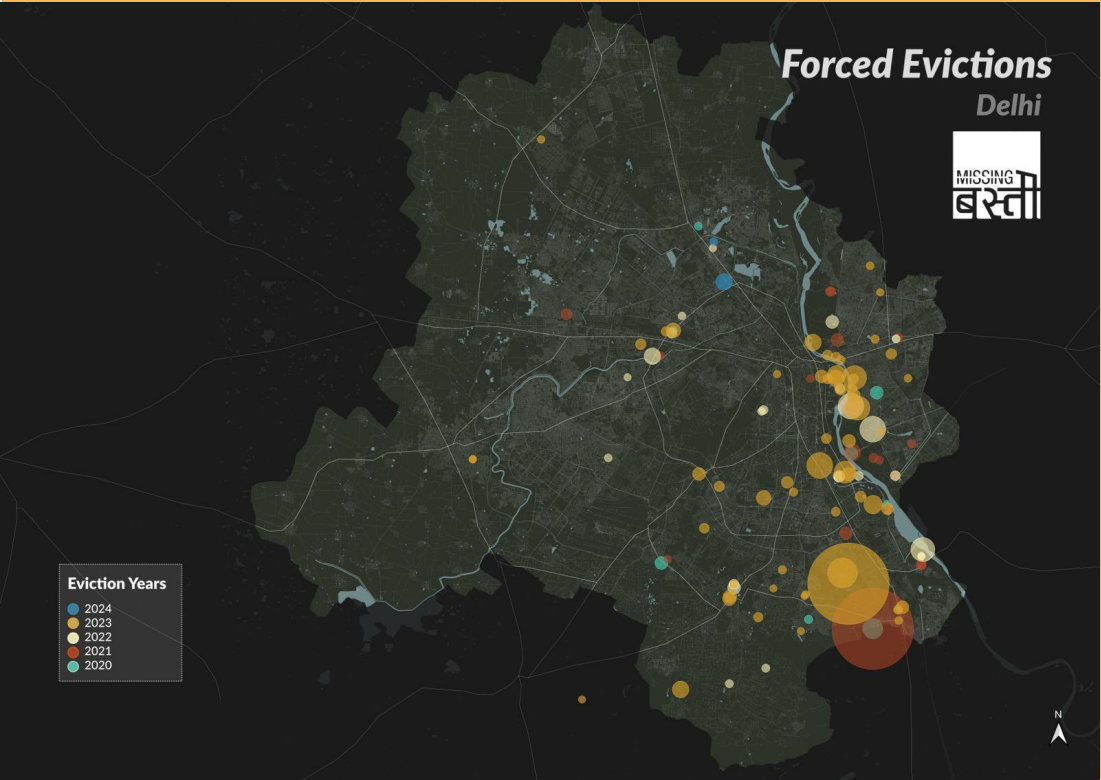
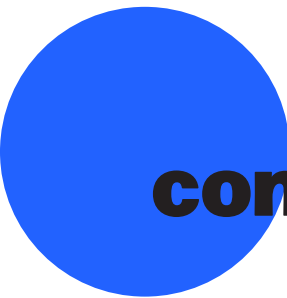


Figure 02: Forced evictions in Delhi 2020-2024  
Source: Author, Missing Basti Collective





# contents

|                                                                         |           |                                                     |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Abstract</b>                                                         | <b>2</b>  | <b>5. Environment x Housing</b>                     | <b>37</b>  |
| <b>1. Introduction</b>                                                  | <b>3</b>  | 5.1. Eviction regimes                               |            |
| 1.1. Forced Evictions & the Making of Unjust Cities                     |           | 5.2. How did homes become a park?                   |            |
| 1.2. Bourgeoisie Environmentalism, Housing Justice and Spatial Planning |           | 5.3. How did the park become a home?                |            |
| 1.3. Need for the research, Findings, Limitations                       |           | 5.4. Conclusions                                    |            |
| <b>2. Grounding Theories</b>                                            | <b>11</b> | <b>6. Housing x Social Reproduction</b>             | <b>59</b>  |
| 2.1. Social Reproduction Theory                                         |           | 6.1. Social Reproduction in the SGNP Forest         |            |
| 2.2. Bourgeoisie Environmentalism                                       |           | 6.2. Network of Social Reproduction in tn SGNP      |            |
| 2.3. Housing, Illegality, and Resettlement                              |           | 6.3. Conclusions                                    |            |
| <b>3. Eviction Discourse in India and Mumbai</b>                        | <b>15</b> | <b>7. Not A Framework for Housing</b>               | <b>99</b>  |
| 3.1. Eviction Vocabulary                                                |           | 7.1. Why not a Framework?                           |            |
| 3.2. The case of Mumbai                                                 |           | 7.2. Rethinking my role                             |            |
| 3.3. Evictions in SGNP                                                  |           | 7.3. What if the “illegal” was legal? - A manifesto |            |
| <b>4. Research Framework</b>                                            | <b>29</b> | <b>8. Conclusion &amp; Discussions</b>              | <b>111</b> |
| 4.1. Problem Statement                                                  |           | <b>Reflections</b>                                  | <b>114</b> |
| 4.2. Research Questions                                                 |           | <b>Bibliography</b>                                 | <b>117</b> |
| 4.3. Methodologies                                                      |           | <b>Appendix</b>                                     | <b>121</b> |





Displacement and forced evictions of the urban poor have been used in cities of the global south as a mechanism to attract investments and build 'world-class' cities. Favoring international and domestic capital and wealthier groups, these mechanisms not only leave people behind but also lead to increased environmental degradation, creating unjust urban environments from both human and environmental perspectives. Poor communities are often uprooted from places they have lived in for generations, disrupting livelihoods and erasing local and traditional ways of living. At the same time, ecosystems and natural areas are being encroached upon for "development". Together, this leads to a crisis of social reproduction: a disruption in the essential conditions that enable dignified human existence and socio-ecological relations.

This thesis examines housing as a site of social reproduction in environmental justice struggles in the city of Mumbai, India. It specifically focuses on the forest region designated as the Sanjay Gandhi National Park (SGNP) and its surroundings. The Adivasi community residing inside the forest and the slums settlements on its periphery have been facing eviction threats for the past thirty years for reasons of environmental protection. The SGNP forest thus remains a contested terrain as a new eviction drive has resurfaced, and the politics of environmentalism has again compromised housing for the urban poor. While housing and environmental planning are treated as separate issues in planning and governance, using a feminist social reproduction lens, this thesis argues that they are deeply intertwined in everyday lives of residents.

Through a governance analysis, the research first decodes the intersection of housing and environmental planning with the eviction regimes. Using interviews and counter mapping and drawing on the theories of social reproduction, it then defines a network of occupations, struggles and practices of social reproduction in the SGNP forest. The last part of the research focuses on a manifesto "what is the illegal was legal" as a proposal, which emphasizes the need for radical hacks and the need for rethinking the role of urbanists. By centering social reproduction, this thesis argues that the constructs of "legality" and "park boundaries" needs to be disrupted and housing needs to be viewed as an infrastructure that makes life possible.

**Keywords:** Housing, Justice, Forced Evictions, Environmental burgeoning, Social Reproduction, Feminism

Figure 03: Edge of the forest.  
SGNP, February 2026  
by Author



# Ch1: Introduction

## 1.1. Forced Evictions & the Making of unjust

Displacement of the urban poor has become a normal operational mechanism for urban restructuring in cities of the Global South. The city of Delhi, India, has witnessed multiple such evictions since 1990 for the making of a “world-class” city (Ghertner, 2011; Dupont, 2011), rendering thousands of citizens homeless every year. While resettlement is provided in some cases, displacing people to the fringes of the city repeatedly leads to a loss of livelihood (Missing Basti, n.d.). The city of Manila in the Philippines in another instance saw a large eviction drive along its coast. This was done to implement the Manila Bay sustainable Development masterplan that portrayed the informal settlements along the coastline as a huge threat to the coastal ecology (Brackel et al., 2023). These settlements needed to be removed to implement solutions for coastal protection that would safeguard the rest of the city from coastal calamities. Protection of the coast for the common good of the citizens was justified as an excuse for eviction and displacement of informal settlements and fishing communities. It becomes imperative to ask – world-class cities for whom and whose common good are we talking about?

Patterns of evictions that prioritize infrastructure, public interest and common good over its disadvantaged population reveal that evictions are not a technical response to deal with environmental risks, urban renewal etc., but a structural system devised to marginalize those who do not fit into the idea of “order” or “good governance” in an emerging “world class city” (Bhan, 2009). This mechanism of displacement is structural to the working of neoliberal capitalist urbanization. As land value rises, spaces occupied by low-income groups are termed as “encroached” or “degraded” and made available for profitable development. Evictions are a political tool for reorganizing urban space in line with dominant narratives as demonstrated by the examples above. They reinforce who belongs to the city and create a discourse around legality (Indorewala, 2018; Bhan, 2009) dominated by power, in turn define who is considered a legitimate citizen of a place and on what grounds?

Much of the discourse around evictions and legality happens in the courts, but it needs to be realized in the urban planning process and urgently addressed as a spatial issue. Illegality is not the absence of planning but an effect of it, which is constructed and regulated by planning and its various categories (Bhan, 2016). Commonly used terms in the eviction discourse need to be challenged. Questions of legality and legitimacy need to be addressed but by a way of rejecting the definitions made by the state. Informality and incrementality are how most people build, work, and live in the Global South. Nearly one-fourth of the world’s population (IMF, 2021) and half of India’s population (Jain, et.al, 2016) live in informal settlements. Housing needs to be understood beyond the frameworks of legality, as a site of social reproduction and

Figure 11: Collage  
-documentation of  
evictions  
Source: Author  
Data: HLRN, Missing  
Basti, Anti-Eviction  
Mapping Project





everyday life. Through this research, I argue that this issue of evictions and housing needs to be addresses through a feminist spatial reproduction lens by not trying to formalize the informal but find ways to strengthen and celebrate different ways of living that exist in cities.

## 1.2. Bourgeoise Environmentalism, Housing Justice and Spatial Planning

For the scope of this thesis, I focus on the commonly cited environmental reasons for evictions, arguing that addressing the question of housing is core to the environmental planning discourse. Indorewala(2017) argues that planning when seen as an environmental decision-making tool has a discursive power; to be planned is to be rendered legitimate, orderly, adequate, desirable, but what gives planning the power to render such social legitimacy? It is evident from recurring forced evictions that being unplanned does the opposite, that is makes people and places discardable.

Bourgeoisie environmentalism (Baviskar, 2011) refers to the cleaning and greening of the city when certain groups such as the state and urban elites, under the guise of environmental concerns, enable demolition drives that target slums and urban poor populations. This is a recurring narrative in the recent years when more focus is being put on ecology driven urbanization. While ecological urbanism (Mostafavi et al, 2013) was first defined as a discourse in the west and has a Euro-American perspective, it has been an intuitive practice for indigenous communities across the world. Modern notions of urban development along with a rapid urbanization took over city making as they started adopting the modern western aesthetic.

The case of Yamuna riverfront in Delhi, Sabarmati riverfront in Ahmedabad, Adiyar river and wetlands in Chennai or the Aarey forest in Mumbai narrate the story of weaponization of nature against the urban poor including the indigenous population of these places. The Yamuna River, on the banks of which Delhi developed as an important urban center, has seen phases of neglect. It is now a gold mine for new real estate and infrastructure developments. Following the lead of the Thames in London and Seine in Paris, Delhi aspires to turn the unruly Yamuna into a “world class” river with shiny promenades. The Yamuna Riverfront Development plan(YRFD) aims to convert large parts of the floodplains, which were traditionally used for farming, into biodiversity parks, wetlands and recreational areas. For a city with strong social hierarchies rooted in inequalities, this project comes at the cost of displacing marginalized farming communities along the river to make it accessible to the public. Who is the “public”? Who has access to “nature”?

The river, once central to the city’s identity, came to be seen as little more than a polluted sewer running through the city. In a state of neglect, Yamuna became a “nonplace” (Baviskar, 2011), a space which could not be defined as relational, historical or concerned with identity (Auge

2003, as cited by Baviskar 2011). The image of the river as a stagnant, polluted sewer gained visibility with the construction of the Yamuna expressway, a view which made the river an anomaly in the “world class” vision for its citizens (Baviskar, 2011). The reinvention of non-place through addition of value has come at a cost of its citizens and livelihoods. The Akshardham temple and Commonwealth Games Village are allowed to exist on the floodplains and even subsidized but not the city’s poor. Ecology in this case like many others has become a token for economic gain and gentrification.

“The narrative of slums as uncivil and “nuisance” is a primary element of environmental law, and operates as a catchall category allowing diverse private grievances to be expressed in terms of environmental welfare and the public interest”(Ghertner, 2012). In the times of climate urgency more plans are being drawn for “environmental good” and “public interest” over areas that already face housing precarity. They reinforce housing injustices on marginalized urban communities. Environmentalism thus cannot be addresses without addressing housing in such areas of conflict. Housing is at the core of social reproduction(Gotby, 2025), it is a site has the power to enable or disable the life of a majority. Housing discourse needs to move away from use and exchange values, and the environmental planning discourse needs to center people and housing rights by debunking theories of bourgeoisie environmentalists and aesthetics of cities.

## 1.3. Need for the research, Findings & Limitations

In the range of recent events in the Sanjay Gandhi National Park in Mumbai, India, several Adivasi padas or tribal hamlets along with slums on the fringes of the protected forest were served eviction notices (Virani ,2026) to implement the Eco-Sensitive Zonal Masterplan of 2025. The case of these areas first appeared in 1995 when the Bombay Environmental Action Group targeted the slums around the park, accusing them of encroaching and increasingly engulfing the last forest of Mumbai. It is thus vital to address the conflicts of environmentalism and housing in the most precarious times.

This thesis examines housing as a site of social reproduction in environmental justice struggles in the city of Mumbai. It specifically focuses on the forest region designated as the Sanjay Gandhi National Park (SGNP) and adjacent areas. The SGNP forest is located in the northern part of the city and has been a home to tribal communities and slum settlements around its peripheries for many generations. These communities have been subject to multiple attempts at evictions by the state for reasons usually linked to environmental protection and nature conservation. While resettlement attempts were made in 2000, 2008 and 2026, it has been vague in both its proposal and implementation(Indorewala, 2026).

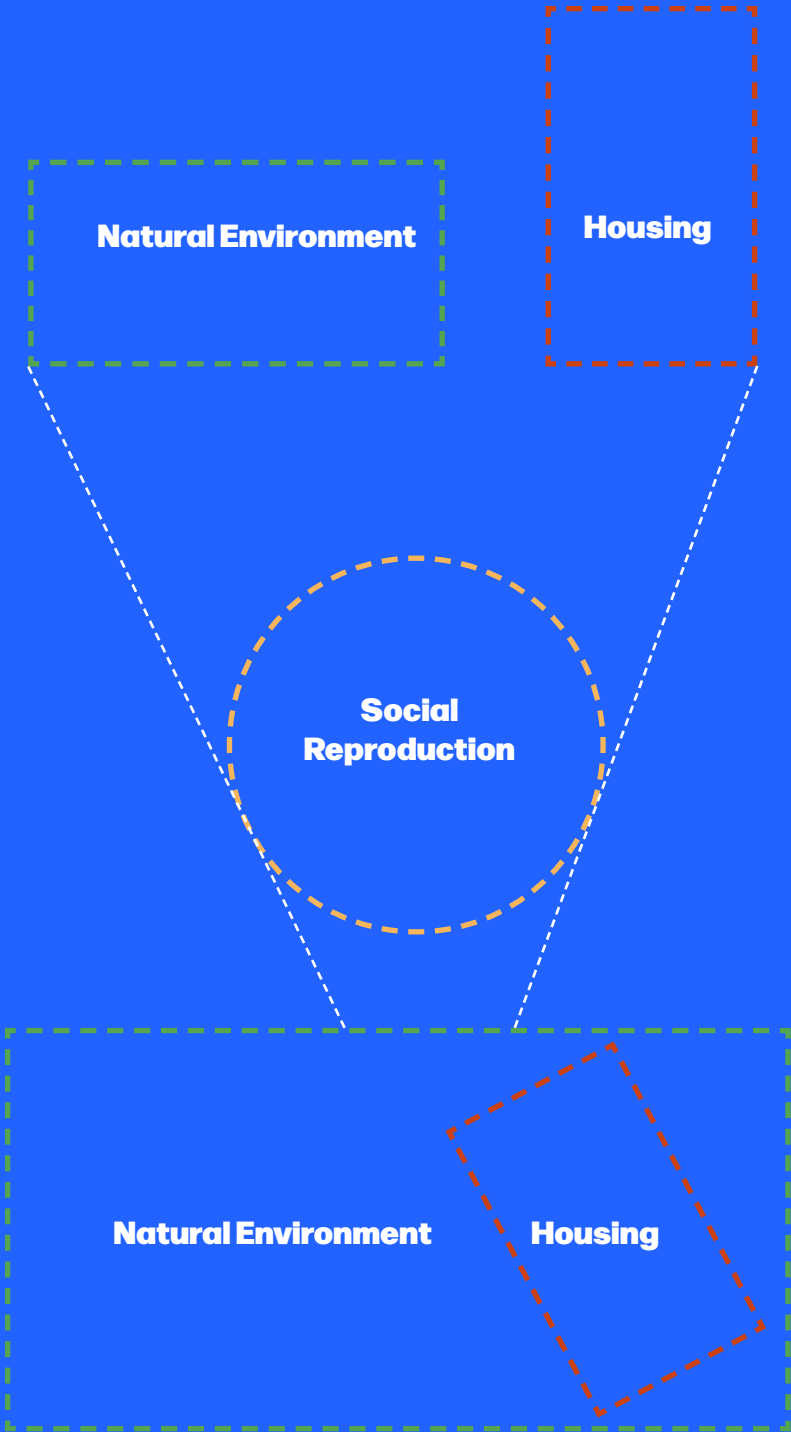


The SGNP forest thus remains a contested terrain as a new plan for making eco-sensitive buffer zones around its periphery has resurfaced, and the politics of environmentalism has again compromised housing for the urban poor. The functioning of Housing and Environmental planning as silos with no thought for the people of the city has created hostile and inhabitable conditions through evictions, creating a loop where injustices are reproduced and the house becomes a place of struggle and occupation.

**This research aims to decode the intersections of environmental planning, housing and social reproduction to understand the nuances of living in areas of housing and environmental struggle. Through literature review, grey literature and media analysis, I frame the question of “housing” and “environment” as one. Ethnographic fieldwork is conducted in an Adivasi Pada and a slum settlement in the SGNP to understand life in these contested areas. During the fieldwork, semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the Adivasi community and slum dwellers. Exact details of these locations are not revealed, and the interviews are anonymized for privacy reasons. Final part of the research, concerned with a proposal dives into the my role as a planner refusing to use technocratic planning tools such as frameworks to address housing. Through a workshop with my colleagues at the department of urbanism and informed by the fieldwork, I explored how illegality could transcend into my role. This is presented as a manifesto -“What if Illegal was legal?” The thesis concludes that approaching housing and environmentalism through a feminist social reproduction lens requires radically reimagining planning without the constructs of legality, parks and boundaries.**

**While the thesis advocates for the plurality of ways of living in and around SGNP, it has a limited scope of ethnographic research with one Adivasi settlement and one slum settlement. The results cannot be thus generalised to the complexities of all settlement around the National Park. To do this, a more thorough mapping of social reproduction would be required over a longer period of time.**

Figure 12 Perceived relationship between housing and natural environment - existing and proposed  
Source: Author





Commonly cited reasons for evictions:

**Infrastructure**

**Land use change**

**Environmental Conservation**

**Public interest**

**Realization of ownership by the state**

**Aesthetics & World class city**



Figure 13: Landscape of the  
"Bulldozer raj" and the  
"Builder Raj" - urban  
development in Indian cities  
Source: Author



# Ch2: Grounding Theories

## Social Reproduction Theory

***“Social reproduction refers to the varied and necessary activities and conditions to produce and maintain human beings in their entirety, not only biophysically or ideologically as in through the education system, but also in meaning-making and cultural realms –what Katz (2001) calls the “messy and fleshy” stuff of everyday life, and Bhattacharya and colleagues call it conditions of “life-making” “***

***- (Miraftab, Huq, 2024).***

**Bourgeoise  
Environemtalism**

**Housing,  
Illegality, &  
Resettlement**

This thesis is grounded in the feminist social reproduction lens to understand housing practices in contested environmental terrains. Supporting Bourgeoisie Environmentalism and Housing theories that shape the current discourse around legality are studied to build an argument for the need to look at housing through everyday. The theoretical grounding of this thesis is built on works of Faranak Miraftab, Alva Gotby, Gautam Bhan, Hussain Indorewala, Amita Baviskar, Amita Bhide, Emma Power, Silvia Federici and other feminist scholars.

## 2.1. Social Reproduction Theory

The debates around housing and resettlement (Indorewala, 2016; Bhide, 2023) in the city of Mumbai have mostly focused on affordability, scale of housing, tenement sizes, and at rare moment amenities, services or accessibility to the rest of the city. The lived dimension of housing and its function in maintaining the city, its workers and inequalities reproduced through the loop of evictions remains understudied through a spatial planning point of view. Social reproduction theory (Gotby, 2025; Miraftab, Huq, 2024) allows us to dissect housing struggles through the lived experiences of people and propose humane alternatives to the eviction and resettlement loop. Housing is at the core of social reproduction – all the things that go into ensuring the relative well being of people, enabling them to go about their lives and go to work (Gotby, 2025), without a stable home, turn cities into spaces of mere survival.

In the context of the housing crisis in the UK, Alva Gotby illustrates a circuit to understand the role of capitalism under housing – financialization made is possible by rent payers – who are exploited by landlords and capitalists with exorbitant rents to access shelter – state underwires this system by providing massive subsidies to landlords (which promotes landlordism) and therefore the stability of housing system as a whole. In Mumbai, the housing market is increasingly privatized and run by the developer lobby with few affordable housing options provided by the state bodies MHADA and SRA. In recent years the state has incentivized developers to take up slum rehabilitation projects by providing them with Transfer of Development Rights that allows them to use extra Floor Space Index in other projects. This leads to excessive financialization of housing where homes are treated as a property asset rather than places for people to live in. Floor spaces are accumulated by the middle and upper classes as investments enabled by their purchasing power. When slum dwellers are allotted flats by the Slum rehabilitation authority, they are accused of renting or selling out the flat and moving back to the slum for profit making. This is, however, due to lack of proper conditions



required to live in a dwelling (Indorewala, 2018). This prompts for a shift in prioritizing the use value of housing over its exchange value. While this is a valid argument, it misses that homes already have a use value which lets them be exploited by market based development. Why would otherwise, anyone buy a useless thing? "The concept of financialization can obscure the links between housing and the sphere of production in which tenants are workers and instead focus too much on the financial sector" (Soederberg as cited by Gotby, 2025). The focus thus needs to shift towards studying housing as a site of social reproduction. "Social reproduction refers to the varied and necessary activities and conditions to produce and maintain human beings in their entirety, not only biophysically or ideologically as in through the education system, but also in meaning-making and cultural realms —what Katz (2001) calls the "messy and fleshy" stuff of everyday life, and Bhattacharya and colleagues call it conditions of "life-making" "(Miraftab, Huq, 2024).

For the Adivasis residing in the city, the housing struggle has meant a loss of their collective cultural identity over decades to adapt to the city and accommodate it in their forests. Home for this community is intertwined with the rhythms of the forest. Evictions or resettlement thus means erasure of daily life and cultural identity. The Slum dwellers on the other hand have been for over thirty years living in the hopes of being allotted formal tenements by the Slum Rehabilitation Authority. This, however, comes with the cost of losing their livelihoods and places they have called their own for many decades. This thesis investigates the processes of social reproduction with these two groups residing in the SGNP forest.

## 2.2. Bourgeoisie Environmentalism

The concept of Bourgeoisie Environmentalism coined by Amita Baviskar (2011), explains the mainstream logics of environmentalism that advocate for clean natural environments, usually achieved by evicting the urban poor such as tribals, farmers and slum dwellers. The concept of bourgeois environmentalism is used in this thesis to understand how environmental concerns in Indian cities are shaped by middle-class and elite aspirations for order, cleanliness, aesthetics, and global city status. Environmental discourses, such as the case of slum dwellers around SGNP initiated by the Bombay Environmental Action Group, are frequently mobilized to justify the removal of informal settlements (Ghertner, 2011, Dupont, 2011), street vendors, and low-income communities, while leaving more resource-intensive and ecologically damaging elite developments unquestioned. In this framework, nature is treated as sacred and human presence is seen as a harming the pristine natural environment.

At the same time, luxury housing around the SGNP are increasingly advertised as living in healthy environments close to nature or at a "kissing distance from the forest", "forest living", etc. Weaponization of ecology that bourgeoisie environmentalism explains is crucial to understand the "who" in mainstream narratives.

## 2.3. Housing, Illegality, and Resettlement

The turn of looking at informality and slums through the lens of legality is a recent one in housing discourses. As Indorewala (2018) explains in his work, the consequences of the "slum discourse" on the urban poor has been that the state has been more efficient at dis-housing than housing the urban poor in Mumbai. The first attempts at solving the problem of slums in the colonial period where structures that were unsanitary were classified as slums. The state in early independence periods sought to solve this problem through slum clearance and public housing (Indorewala, 2018). In the 1970s slum clearance was combined with improvement and upgradation of self-built environments. This was also combined with large resettlement schemes. Indorewala emphasizes on the synonymizing of slums and informal settlements during this time, arguing that the system of categorization based on legal status is something that was developed through policies and interferences from global players such as the World Bank who focused on developing property rights. Soon, rehabilitation through eligibility became a dominant mode of housing. Since the establishment of the Slum Rehabilitation Authority in the 1990s, in-situ redevelopment and resettlement rehabilitation have been primary modes of re-housing the urban poor (Indorewala, 2018). This has also opened the rehabilitation schemes to the housing market by granting developers the rights to construct slum rehabilitation projects and in turn get additional Floor Space Index that could be used in other projects. This Ghertner (2014) signals is privatization of public land.

The role of the court in evictions through Judicial rulings as Bhan (2009) explains is a crucial one in shaping the discourse on legality. The early cases of eviction in the SGNP as well were initiated by the Bombay High Court and operationalized by the Forest department and the Municipal body. This shall be discussed in detail in chapter 4. It is important to note that while both Bhan and Indorewala highlight the emerging notion of "world-class cities" and its relation to shaping the discourse on legality of slums, this idea is also entrenched in the notions of environmentalism.

**While the theories of bourgeoisie environmentalism, legality and housing provide a contextual ground to this thesis, Social reproduction theory is central to finding a way ahead by challenging the role of housing under environmental struggles.**

# Ch3: Eviction discourse in India and Mumbai

## 3.1. Eviction Vocabulary

Major Indian cities such as Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, and Bangalore follow the same discourse of making the cities “slum free”. Courts, planning authorities, and municipal bodies have been increasingly framing slums and informal settlements as sources of pollution, ecological degradation, and risk, especially when they are located near natural environments such as rivers, mangroves, forests, or wetlands. Under the pretext of environmental protection, urban poor communities are rendered illegitimate by framing their presence as an ecological problem.

Evictions have become so intense in India that the term ‘Bulldozer Raj’, meaning the rule of the bulldozer, is commonly used to refer to the politics of evictions. Minorities and marginalized communities are the most common targets of this Bulldozer Raj. For vulnerable communities, this term is connoted to a regime that promised housing for all, but instead sent bulldozers to destroy homes without providing any decent alternative accommodation (Bhattacharya, 2025). As Bhan (2009) narrates through the story of the urban poor in Delhi, the rights of the majority of the citizens are denied within a framework of democratic and electoral accountability and in the name of “public interest”. Who is the “public” and what “interest” are we addressing? On the contrary, “Builder Raj”, meaning the rule of the builders, is another commonly used term that refers to the close-knit ties between private builders, municipalities and politicians; a network that makes the marketisation of housing possible.

In fact, an “eviction glossary” has emerged, showing how the state perceives and hence converses with people. This includes narratives around the redevelopment and slum cleaning in the name of the public interest or environmental protection, drawn from eviction notices aimed at the urban poor and marginalized communities. Many of these notices (see fig 3.2) are challenged in the court by residents but eventually operationalized through court rulings, leaving people with anywhere between ten days to a month to wrap up their lives and scout for another place to live in. The notice also mandates people to demolish structures at their own expense, or the state would charge them with the costs of demolition. Figure 3.2 illustrates some of the terminologies used in this eviction glossary.

Figure 3.1: Govindpuri, Delhi  
after evictions in 2023  
Source: Author





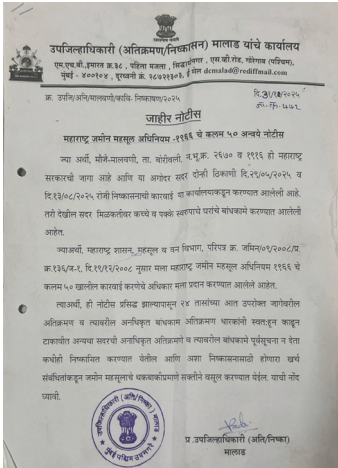
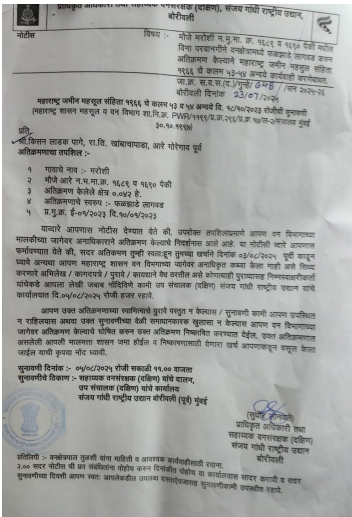


Figure 32: Eviction notices: Malvani,Aarey,Public notice: Source:Shubham Kothari, Land conflict watch

Atikraman अतिक्रमण - encroachment, infringement, breaking the law, stepping outside of natural limits

Anadhikarane अनाधिकाराने - without the authority or power (to build)

Malakiche मालकीचे - ownership of (the state)

Anadhikrut Kabza अनधिकृत कबजा - to occupy, seize without authority

Purava पुरावा - proof (by law)

Vasul वसूल - (costs incurred) to be reclaimed

Nishkasan निष्कासन - expulsion, elimination, removing, or taking out, originating from Sanskrit, referring to the act of forcing something or someone out, dismissing them

Sunavani सुनावणी - hearing

7/12 Satbara Utara सातबारा उतारा - land record document showing agricultural land ownership, usage, and characteristics, combining details from Village Forms VII (ownership/occupant rights) and XII (crops/ cultivation), used for legal transactions, loans, and proving possession, essentially serving as key evidence for agricultural land ownership



Figure 3.3. Evolution of Mumbai through Land Reclamation and Mumbai as seen through a train window  
Source: Author. Data Source: SOAK2009

## 3.2.The Case of Mumbai

For the scope of this thesis, I focus on the city of Mumbai and the eviction and resettlement discourse around the Sanjay Gandhi National Park located to the north of the city. I first encountered Mumbai when I moved there for my bachelor studies in Architecture. After feeling out of place for the first few months, the city's magnitude, nuances and uniqueness in every corner soon grew over me and I started to feel like I belonged there. I still recall the fascination from learning how the city had been made by reclaiming seven islands. It was hard to imagine that the area I studied, Juhu, was just a few decades old, afterall it was one of the highest real estate markets in the city. In this section, I unpack why I chose Mumbai as a case for this research, and set a context for the following chapters.

Mumbai offers a particularly revealing context for studying bourgeoisie environmentalism because it is a city where land, density, and development rights are among the most intensely contested in the country. Urban planning here is strongly governed by land values, zoning, and Floor Space Index (FSI), making scarce urban space a terrain of struggle. Eviction is recurring mechanism of urban restructuring (Bhan 2016), visible in the clearance of settlements along railway lines, the Mithi River, mangroves, and SGNP forest lands. The recent May 2026 demolition drive in Garib Nagar in Bandra to expand the Railway terminus show how inhumane practices make the city, its infrastructure and real estate.

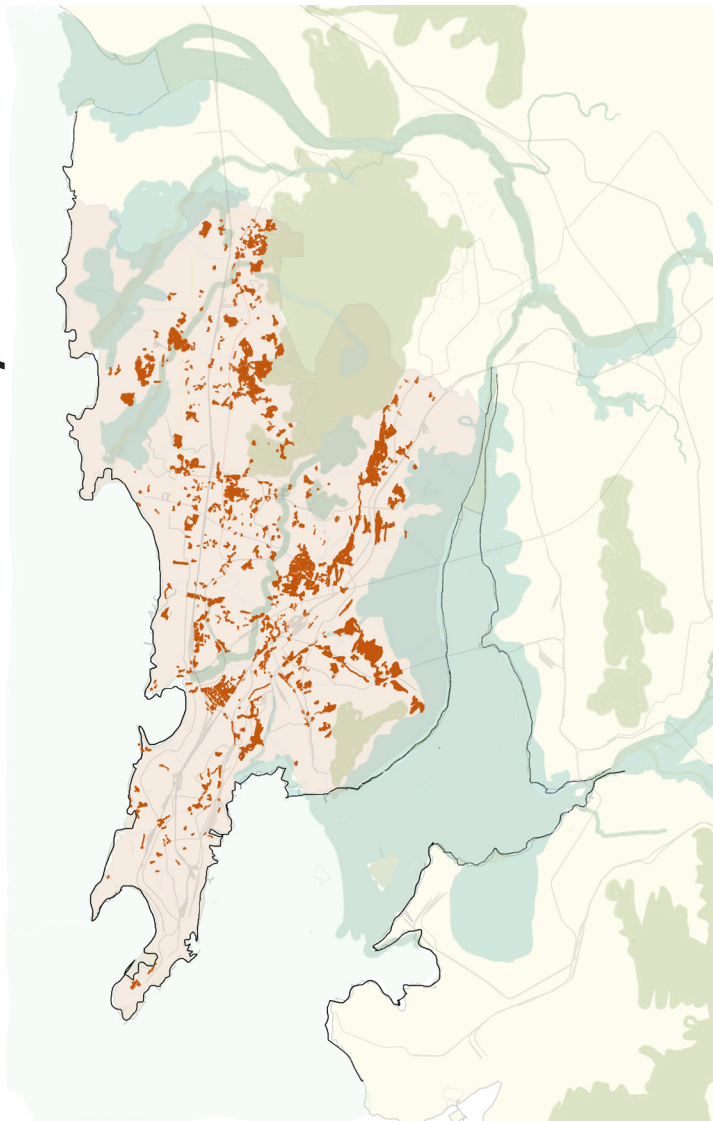
Built on seven islands and surrounded by the sea on three sides creating a peninsula , Mumbai also offers a dense assemblage of overlapping ecologies (see fig x): the coastline , the mangrove belts of the eastern and western suburbs, riparian ecologies with its 5 rivers, and the forest landscape of Sanjay Gandhi National Park and Aarey. Although most of its ecological structures face neglect, it is interesting to note how they are weaponized against its urban poor. Indigenous fishing, agrarian and tribal communities have been residing in these areas (see fig 3.4) for centuries before reclamation. Although the city has seen a vertical growth since the liberalization of Indian economy in the 1990s, a large part of the city is self-built given the lack of affordable housing in the city. These areas, following the systemic narratives of evictions and bourgeoisie environmentalism are increasingly seen as a threat to the city and its nature. Many of the older tribal settlements are ignorantly classified as slums to enable evictions. On the other hand, infrastructure projects such as the coastal road have completely destroyed intrinsic mangrove ecologies.

This coexistence of intense ecological transformation, contested urban development, persistent grassroots mobilization through struggle, in addition to my personal relation to the city, makes Mumbai a fitting case for examining how environmental planning produces spatial injustice and narratives of legality and how different ways of living are selectively valued or erased in the making of the city.

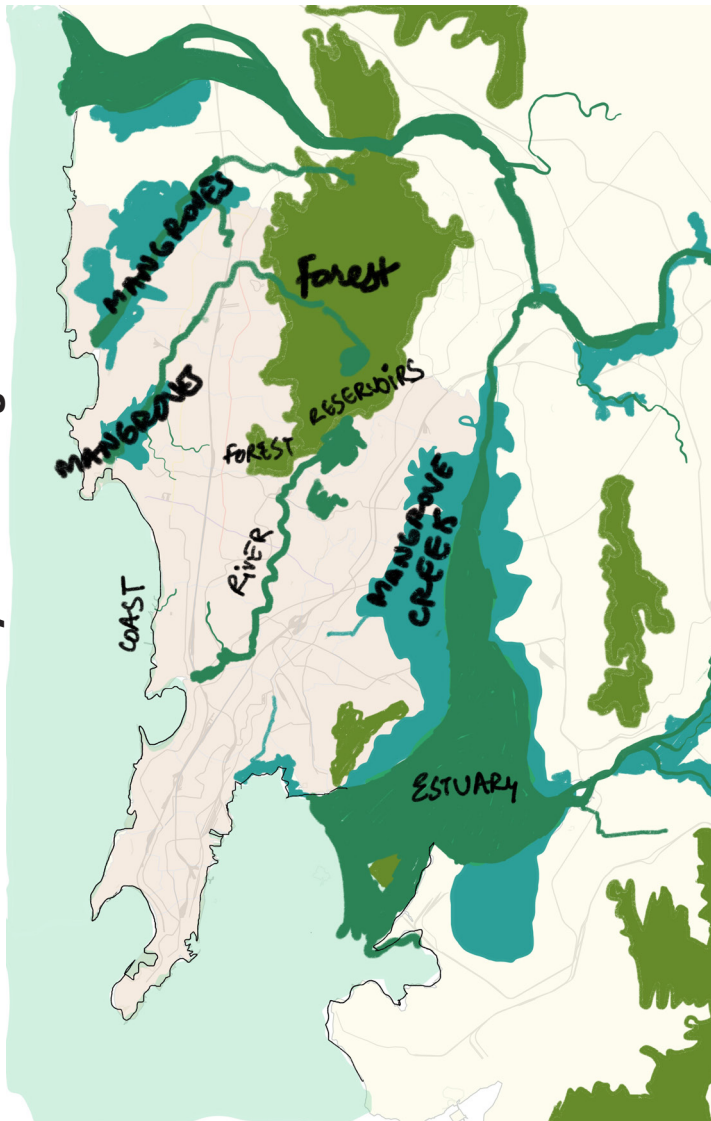




## A self-built city



## A city of Ecologies



## A city of indigeneities

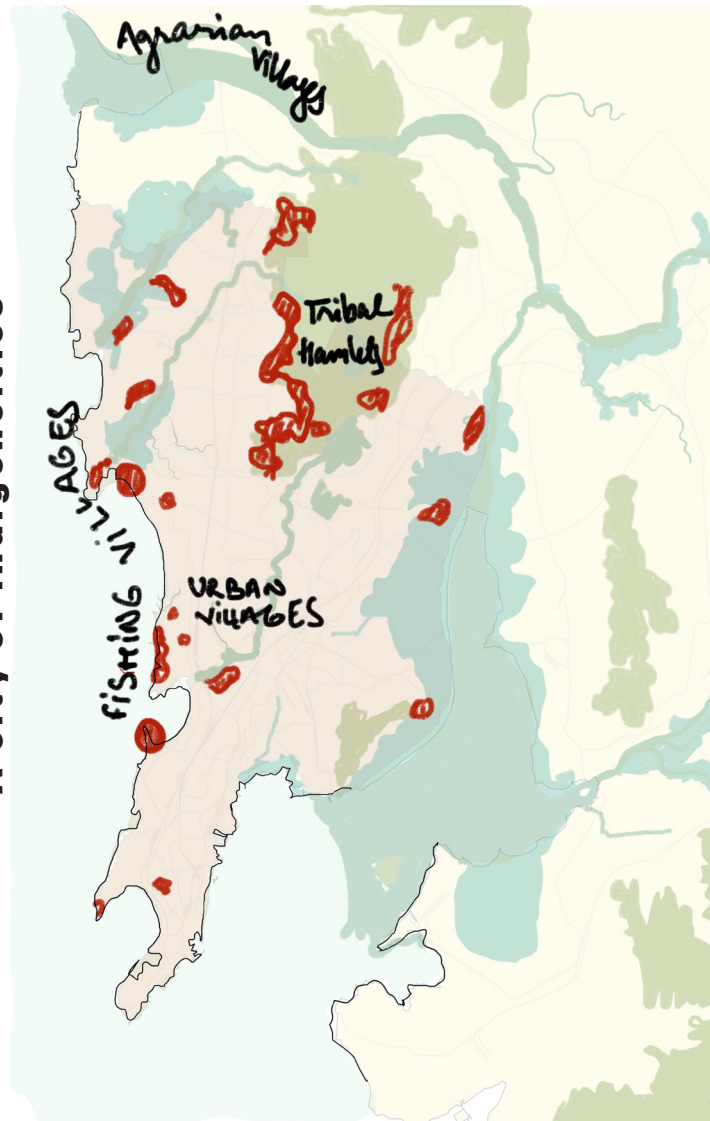


Figure 33: A self-built city and a city of ecologies. Source: Author.



## Urban Villages



Fishing village



Tribal village



Urban Village

## Slums



Dharavi



Korba Mithagar



Janta Colony

## State planned housing



Mahul rehabilitation scheme



Site and services scheme



Slum rehabilitation at BKC

## Developer led housing



Royal Palms



Hiranandani complex



JVPD scheme

This collection of satellite images shows different densities and footprints of living. It puts into perspective discussions from the previous sections of who is under threat, what the aesthetics bourgeois environmentalism support (column on the right), what lives it considers as illegitimate (column 1 & 2 from the left) and how the state responds by resettlement and rehabilitation (column 3 from the left).

Figure 34 A plurality: Mumbai  
Source: Author  
Data: Bing Maps





Figure35: People queue up to submit their documents and proofs towards rehabilitation in an SGNP Slum, 2026  
Source: Author

### 3.3.Evictions in SGNP

The Sanjay Gandhi National Park, located at the heart of the northern suburbs of Mumbai is a part of the original Salesette islands. This region has seen urban growth in the past 50 to 60 years as the city expanded northward from the island city of Mumbai. The SGNP forest today is home to the Warli tribes, who have claim to be the original inhabitants of the forest.

In the 1960s and 70s (Tribunal report, 2000), built by migrants, slums grew on the fringes the park, given the absence of affordable housing in the city. Composed largely of lower caste and lower-class groups, the migrants were forced to build on cheap sold to them by “slumlords” (Nivara Hakk, n.d).lands. While people bouth the land with informal stamp fee paper, the ownership of the land remains illegal. The role of slumlords and the constructs of legality thus need to be unpacked.

The boundaries of the park have been made and remade since the first development plan of Mumbai in 1964. The governance of the park remains contested at all scales – national, state and municipal and shall be unpacked in the following chapters. The extents of the park spread from approximately 20sq.km in the 1950s to a 103 sq.km today. These boundaries drawn from a top-down approach for environmental protection purposes, conveniently leave people out from the map.

The first eviction drive was triggered by a Public interest Litigation filed in 1995 by the Bombay Environmental Action Group, a group of citizens concerned about the growth of slum around the park that according to the BEAG we harmful to the forest (Zérah, 2007, Tribunal Report, 2000). The period between 1995 and 2000 saw one of the biggest eviction drive and brutalities in the country where 50,000 homes (Indorewala, 2026, Nivara Hakk, n.d) were demolished and continue to be at the risk of evictions. Judicial rulings played a key role in these evictions and building the discourse around illegality in urban planning in the years after. This is a classic example of how bourgeoisie environmentalist psyche has lead to a struggle for housing for more than 30 years.

It is important to note that housing rights here is an issue that affects the tribal community as well as the slum dwellers equally. The SGNP forest is home to 20% of the tribal population– Adivasis – of the state of Maharashtra and more than 1000 families reside in hamlets or Adivasi Padas around the forest (Edelblutte, Gunnell, 2014). Through the process of expansion of the park, changing forest policies and development plans, the Adivasis have faced a loss of livelihood and denial of basic services as the forest got engulfed by the city. Their rights to the forest and their home has been challenged again by the eviction attempts in January 2026 by framing them as encroachers who were already resettled outside the forest in the 1970’s (Indorewala, 2026). According to the adivasis, the National Park is an encroachment of their homes. The case of slums around the SGNP thrives on the narrative of encroachments that would eventually consume and destroy the forest. Many families have been living in the hope of resettlement since 1995. The 2026 plans for evictions again come without a clear resettlement plan



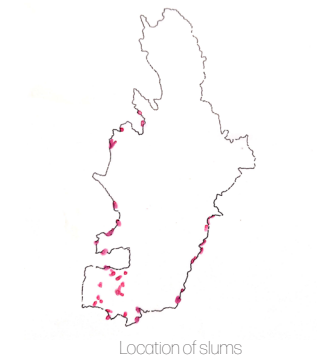
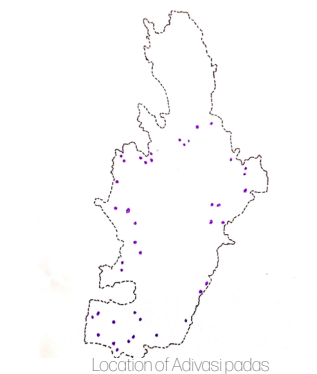
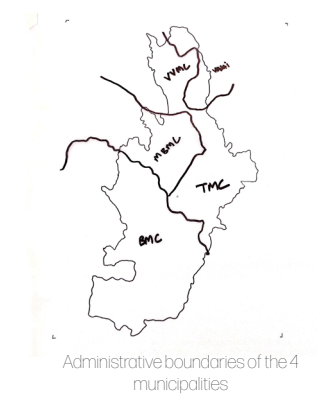
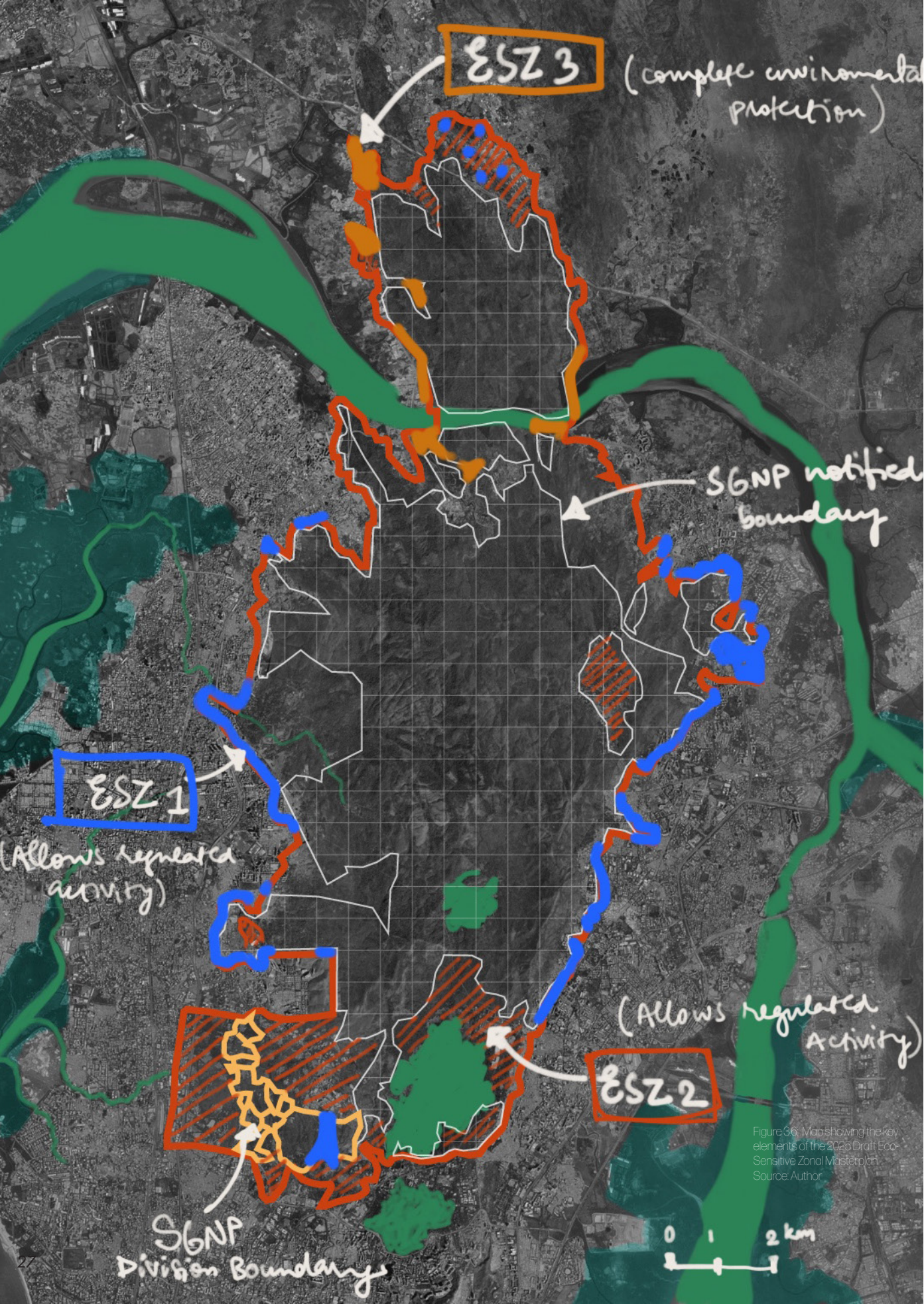


Figure 37. Key elements based on the ESZ Masterplan report. Source: Author.

before the evictions are carried out. Fueled by the bourgeoisie environmental logic of clean and green cities, the issues of housing justice are further sidelined to create perceptions of preserved natural areas.

The latest Eco-Sensitive Zonal Masterplan, first proposed in 2016 and drafted in 2025, proposes a 500m buffer around the notified boundaries of the park. Figure x shows the zoning of the masterplan and figure Y shows the administrative boundaries of different municipalities, indicative locations of slums and Adivasi padas around the forest. The ESZ masterplan (see fig 3.6) introduces three categories for the buffer zones where ESZ1 and ESZ2 allow for some regulated activities around the forest whereas ESZ3 is for complete environmental protection. Under the guise of environmental protection this plan successfully manages to create a ground for eviction of tribal and slum households while replacing them with industries, tech-parks and resorts.

**A lack of clear objectives both housing and environmental create the perfect breeding ground for spatial injustices. This has been a recurring theme in the making of the Sanjay Gandhi National Park since the first eviction drive in 1995 that led to the demolition of 50,000 homes. Resettlement after efforts from activist groups in the city happened but remained flaky. Since this resettlement attempt in 2000, tribals and slum dwellers have been accused of renting or selling their resettlement flats and returning to their original habitats. Lack of stable, habitable and dignified housing is a direct cause of social reproduction in the city, where the people often producing and servicing the city and its nature are subjected to a loop of instability.**



## Ch4: Research Framework

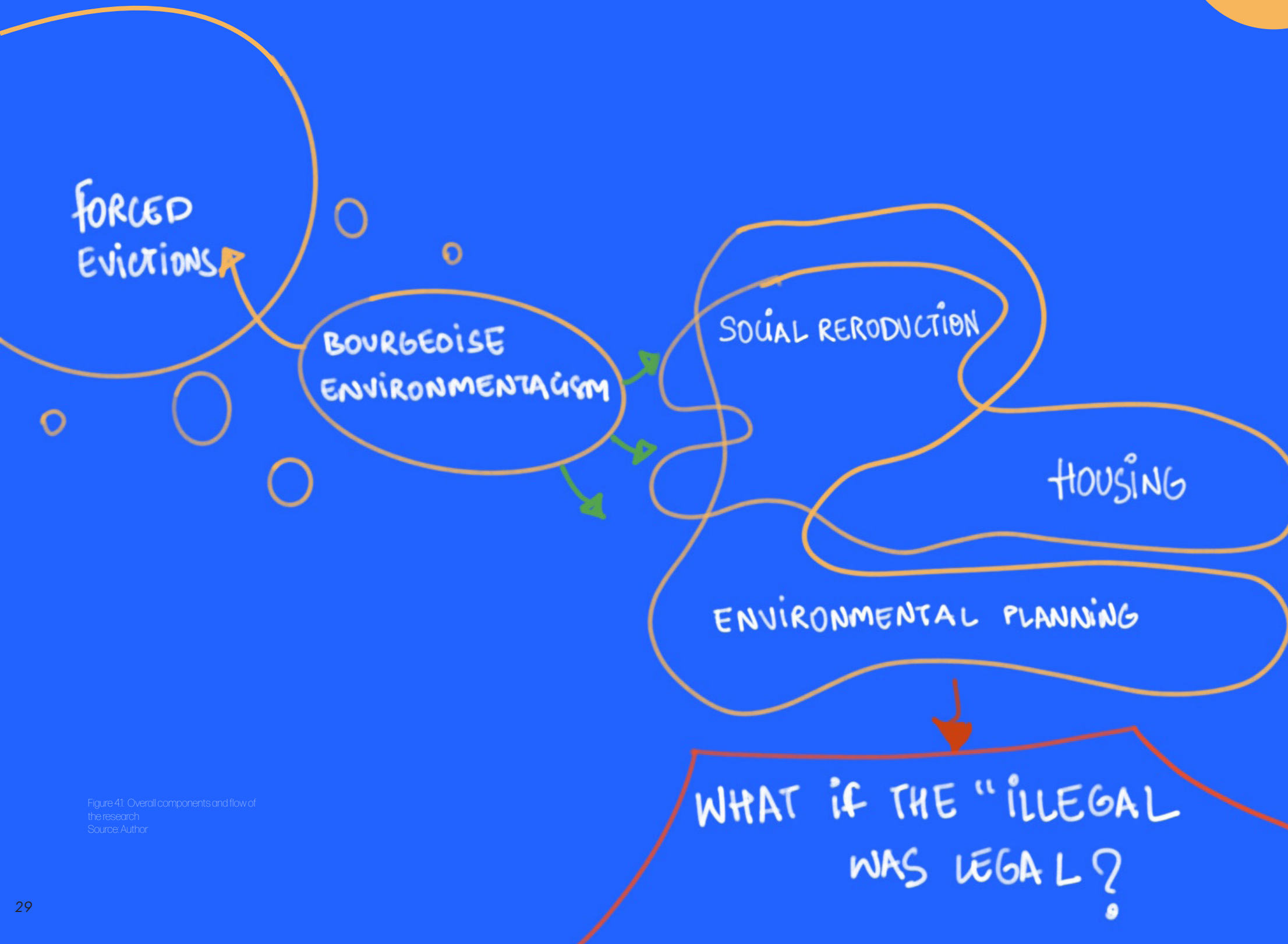


Figure 41: Overall components and flow of the research  
Source: Author



## 4.1. Problem Statement

**Ecologically sensitive areas in Mumbai, such as its forests and mangroves, have been contested sites for housing, nature protection and social reproduction. Plans under the guise of environmental protection are used as tools for evictions of the urban poor and marginalized communities, displacing them from their original habitats and reproducing inequalities. Adivasi Padas and slum dwellers residing in and around Sanjay Gandhi National Park have faced a loop of uncertainty since the first wave of evictions between 1995 and 2000, when 50,000 homes were demolished by force with just 11,000 families granted rehabilitation housing (Indorewala 2026, Nivara Hakk, n.d). While this is an effect of changing Park boundaries and rules to make environmental protection stringent, the evictions were triggered by Bourgeoisie Environmental (Baviskar, 2011) groups, in this case, the BEAG (Tribunal report, 2000). This created a political discourse around environmentalism and legality, of which the Judiciary is a central actor.**

**The 2025 Eco-sensitive Zonal Masterplan for the national park brought back uncertainty in these settlements by putting more homes at risk, when a 500m regulated buffer zone around the park boundary was proposed. This will allow certain kinds of developments such as housing, it parks, resorts and non-polluting industries. Housing for the city’s marginalized communities is yet again compromised. There is a need to break down this issue and challenge eviction narratives through a lens that puts communities at core and examines housing beyond a legal and economic perspective (Gotby, 2024). This research aims to decode housing in areas of environmental conflict through the lens of social reproduction and to find ways to break the loop of evictions and resettlement that narratives around affordable housing create.**

## 4.2. Research Questions

**Main Research Question:**

***How can housing act as a site of social reproduction in sites of environmental struggles?***



Figure 42: Sub-research questions, main enquiries and their interrelation  
Source: Author



# 4.3. Methodologies

This thesis used mixed methods to understand housing as a site of social reproduction in the contested areas of the SGNP Forest. These methods are strategically selected to emphasize on situated and forensic investigations.

## Literature Review

Existing literature on housing justice, environmentalism and social reproduction is reviewed to understand the dynamics of environmentalism and legality. The literature on feminist social reproduction (Gotby, 2025; Miraftab, Huy, 2025; Power, et.al, 2025) is used to set the lens for the fieldwork. Housing studies literature specific to the case of India (Bhan, 2016, 2009; Indorewala, 2018, 2016; Bhide, 2023, 2008) help in creating a setting for analysis of governance structures and the role of the courts in shaping housing discourse in India. Much of literature on Bourgeois Environmentalism (Baviskar, 2001; Ghertner, 2011; Dupont, 2011) forms the starting point of this research to narrow down the scope of evictions research. Literature review provides a base to build on but feminist social reproduction theory specifically gives a lens to look at housing beyond its legal and economic dimensions.

## Grey Literature and Media Analysis

Grey Literature including reports on evictions and the Sanjay Gandhi National Park, are reviewed to draw a historical overview and understand the dynamics of various actors and bodies in the conflict between housing and environment. Nivara Hakk, an NGO involved in the struggle has extensively documented the ground realities and struggles of people since the evictions in the 1990s. This, along with the tribunal report which presents court cases and objective documentation and analysis until the year 2000, is used to create a solid foundation over which the layer of social reproduction is analyzed through fieldwork.

News articles give a grounding to this research due to the ongoing process of evictions. Relevant sites for fieldwork have been identified partially through media analysis. National news papers such as The times of India, The wire, Mongabay, etc. and established local news agencies such as Mumbai Mirror are used for the media analysis. Weight is given to articles written by academicians, activists and planners.

## Governance analysis

Environmental and Housing governance structures are briefly analyzed to situate their roles in the process of Evictions. The role of the court as backed by literature review, emerges a central one in this process. Forest and environmental legislations at the state and national scale, municipal development plans, housing and rehabilitation schemes at the state scale are used

to understand their impacts on the Adivasis and slum dwellers in the scopes of evictions and resettlement. This is presented as three timelines in chapter 5. This helps understand how legality is constructed through governance.

## Qualitative and Ethnographic Fieldwork

The fieldwork involved semi-structured interviews with the residents of Navapada, an Adivasi Pada, the slum dwellers from Damu Nagar. The interview questions revolved around five themes – ownership, belonging, community, conflict, and aspirations. Additionally, an activist and a scholar who have long term engagement with the communities were interviewed to understand networks and previous work in these areas. Out of these, seven interviews are spatialized in the form of ‘Atlas of Living’ that narrate the stories of living in this area of conflict. The outcomes of this exercise are mapped into a network of struggles, occupation, and practices of social reproduction. The field work was conducted in February 2026.

## Workshop (The illegal Urbanist)

A workshop with peers from the graduation cluster ‘Designing by Feminist Values’ at the department of Urbanism is conducted to brainstorm the qualities an urbanist who is trying to deconstruct illegality could have. This is a critical reflection on the role of an urbanist after the fieldwork, which aids in writing the manifesto. This combined positionality created through the assimilation of combined values, skills and inspirations is then overlayed with learnings from the research. The aim of this exercise and the manifesto creation is not limited to the this but acts as a prelude to my future practices.



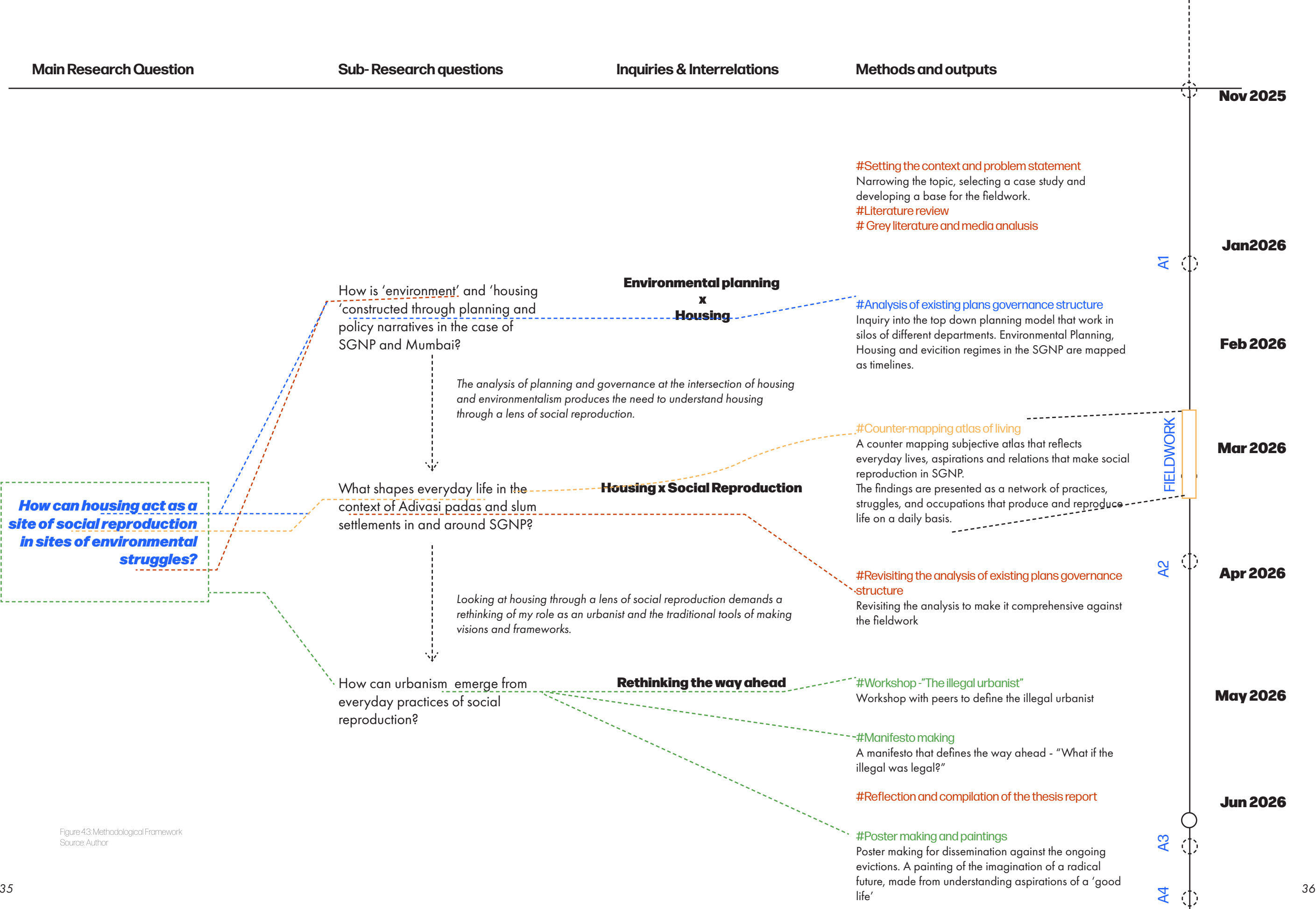


Figure 43: Methodological Framework  
Source: Author



# Ch5: Environment x Housing

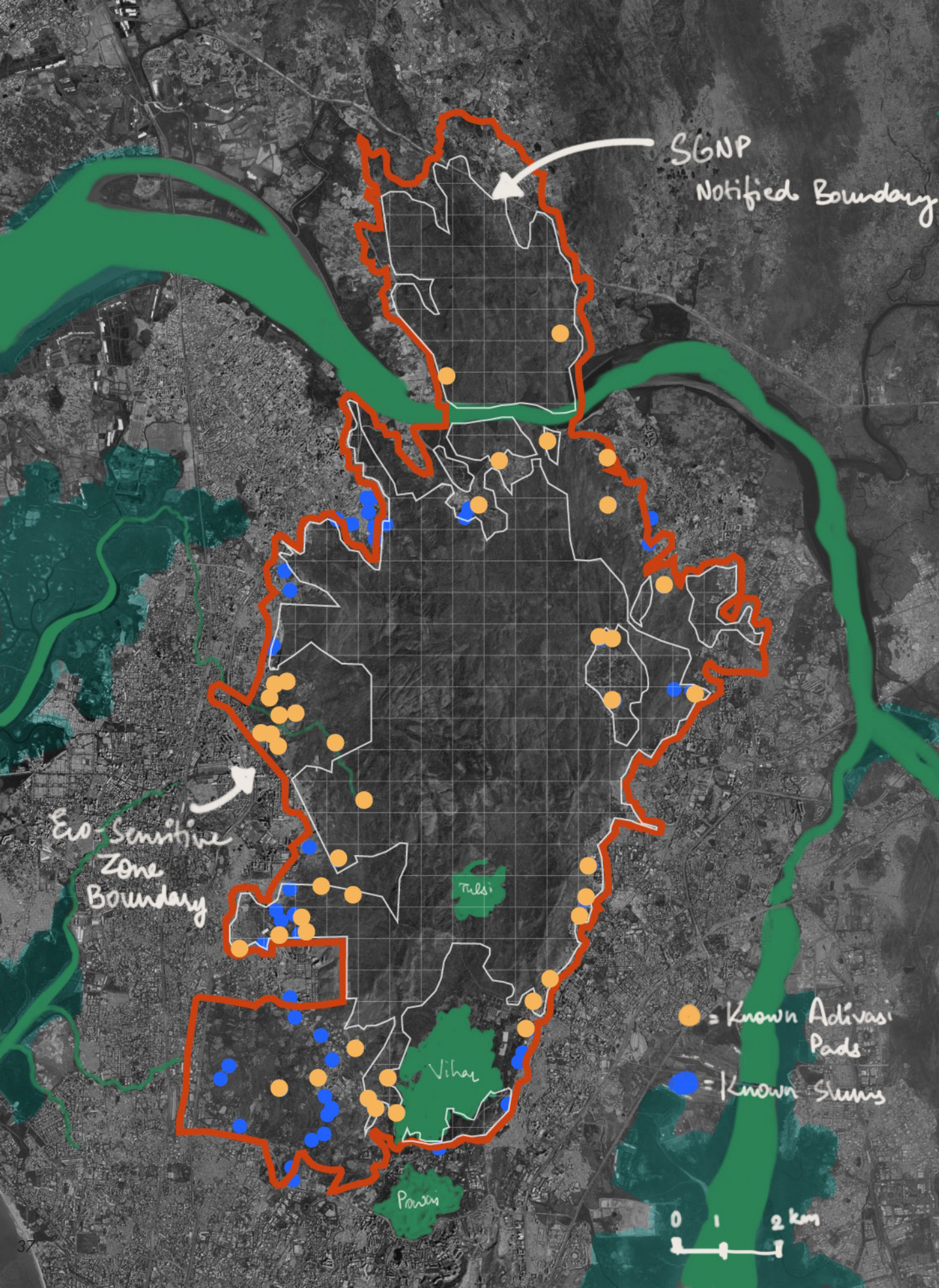


Figure 51: Map showing the tentative locations of slums and Adivasi pads in the SGNP forest in relation to the forest boundaries and the ESZ.

Data Source: (KRVIA, 2023; Edelblutte, Gunnell, 2014). Draft ESZ Master Plan report, 2025

## SRQ1: How is 'environment' and 'housing' constructed in planning and policy narratives in the case of SGNP and Mumbai?

This section of the research examines the governance dynamics that led to the formation of the Sanjay Gandhi National Park as we know it today, focusing on environmental and housing planning policies that were made in comparison to the evictions that took place around this region until now. In doing so, it identifies the key shifts in governance structures that shape the eviction and resettlement regimes around the park and in the city more broadly.

First, a relevant outline of the timeline of evictions in and around the SGNP is presented, providing a historical overview of how eviction processes happened in this region and the factors shaping them. Then, it focuses on the implications of the demarcations of the SGNP forest boundaries on the Adivasi community. Lastly, shifts in housing that shaped the outlook towards slums on the fringes of the forest are inspected through lens of legality. This chapter concludes by identifying the overlaps between two constructs - legality and the park boundaries, actors and institutions involved and affected by the politics of environmentalism of the park, and the need to explore these areas of conflict through a feminist social reproduction lens.



# 5.1. Eviction Regimes

The timeline below (fig 5.2) shows a progression of the eviction activities along with resistance from the residents and housing rights groups. The key findings from this timeline are presented as triggers for evictions, struggles and myths of resettlement. These categories are important to understand as they need to function together to make evictions possible. Triggers are the starting points that provoke discussions around evictions, in this case led by a citizen group with environmental concerns. Triggers lead to struggles against state brutalities throughout the process of eviction. These struggles eventually become intergenerational. Resettlement in slum rehabilitation housing as promised by the state to 'eligible' people, seems to be a beacon of hope for the struggling households. But the complexities created in the process of resettlement turn them into a myth rather than hope.

**Triggers:** The Bombay Environment Action Group (BEAG) in 1995 filed a Public Interest Litigation for removal of around 80,000 hutments that had grown around the peripheries of the Sanjay Gandhi National Park. Their accusation was against the slum dwellers - of increasing encroachments on forest land, which if not removed now would engulf the entire forest. BEAG pleaded to the Bombay High Court for severe action for the removal of the hutments which they called 'encroachments', similar to the action that slum dwellers around the ridge forests in Delhi had faced on an order from the Supreme Court of India (Nivara Hakk, n.d). What followed this litigation was the largest eviction drive in India or perhaps Asia at that time. Around 50,000 homes were razed in just a few months. The struggle for housing continues in these settlements as the threat of evictions still looms without a proper plan for resettlement.

After 30 years of the first litigation, slum and Adivasi settlements are under attack again. The Adivasis residing in the park had been presumably resettled in the 1970's and again in the 2000s and no original Adivasi population remain in the park according to the conservator of forests (Indorewala, 2026). The slums around the park are different from other slums in the city because they grew on protected forest land and, therefore, they were not only seen as violating the stringent Forest Acts, but they also disturbed the middle-class psyche who saw them as serious environmental offenders (Nivara Hakk, n.d).

The BEAG, along with the forest department, were key triggers for the evictions, but the Bombay High Court was the central actor that directed the government to raze tracts of lands - reflecting one of the most inhumane judicial decisions ever made. In a tribunal report made by three retired judges, justice Surest pointed out the irony of the role of the court: "In the past, the people went to court to protect their rights, now people need protection from the court." (Indorewala, 2026 ).

**Struggles:** The eviction attempts were resisted at large scales by the residents and activist groups advocating for housing rights. In the 1995 struggle, peaceful protests, however, turned violent through police brutality which resulted in the death of at least four people (Nivara Hakk, n.d). Tear gas was fired on multiple occasions, a battalion of the State Reserve Police which typically consists of around 1000 armed personnel was deployed for demolition works and watch towers set up every 500 meters to oversee the process.

The municipal bodies were asked to disconnect all the electricity and water supply connections to these areas. The Food & Civil Supplies Department was directed not to issue further sanctions to any more ration shops in the National Park Division area. All ration shops, schools and dispensaries presently functioning were to be demolished within eighteen months at the orders of the court (Tribunal report, 2000). It is interesting to note that public infrastructures that provide food, and are important for everyday survival are the first targets in demolitions, ensuring the lifelines remain dysfunctional. Denying basic services of mobility and connectivity, survival is a common modus operandi of housing struggles that disables social reproduction.

The High Court, in order to evict the 'non-eligible' people, ensured these measures of hostility. Many of the homes that were demolished started as temporary hutments and were incrementally upgraded by people to more permanent brick structures, leading to a severe loss that repeated building of temporary structures again over the last 20 years. Household material owned by people were also confiscated during the demolition drives, as is common in most encroachment removal, forcing people into conditions of survival and uncertainty.

The 2026 attempts started with targeting the Adivasi community on 26th January, ironically when India celebrates its constitution coming into effect. Tension built inside the park as bulldozers employed to demolish Adivasi padas were stopped by a protest from the community. Amidst this, the SGNP administration announced that the park's main entrance would remain closed for the general public for two days (Mastakar, 2026). A struggle of 30 years has shaped hopes of resettlement in the slum communities and strength to resist in the Adivasi community.

**Resettlement Myths:** The evictions between 1995 and 2000 were carried out without a clear plan for resettlement. Resettlement of the households demolished for being illegally constructed on forest lands was a measure that came into effect only after struggles, protests and resistance from tribal and slum dwellers and activist groups. Initially rehabilitation was planned in Kalyan and Ambernath (Tribunal report, 2000), places 50-60km away from the original site. An alternate site in Chandivali was proposed upon resistance from people and efforts from housing rights groups including Nivara Hakk. How the discourses around resettlement have been shaped shall be discussed in detail in section 4.3.

An eligibility criterion was put in place by the high court - that only the people who could present proof of living on these lands since before January 1st 1995 are eligible for resettlement. This ruled out over half of the households living in slums, with only 33,000 eligible. Out of these, only 11,000 received resettlement in Chandivali after 2007 (Indorewala, 2026).



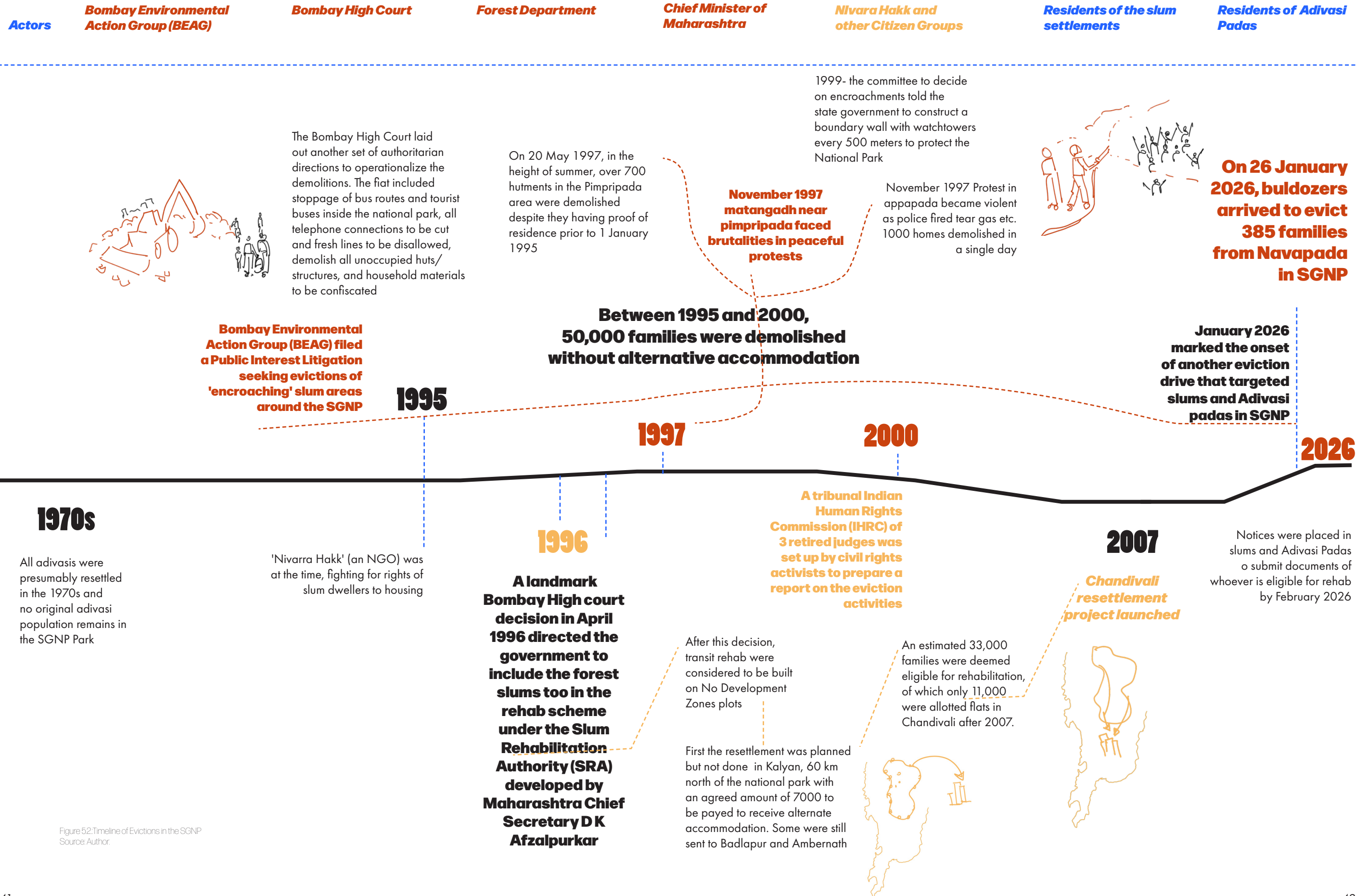


Figure 52: Timeline of Evictions in the SGNP  
Source: Author.



There was another survey done in 2008 (Nivara Hakk, n.d) that gave a second chance for people to prove their residency and apply for rehabilitation housing. February 2026 was another moment this was done. A third survey is being done now in 2026 to verify eligibility of people residing in these settlements before 1995. Despite being eligible many families are left hanging, their homes demolished without resettlement and the rest are not even in the equation. Moreover, those claiming alternative accommodation have to pay 7000 as an initial contribution to be eligible for rehabilitation. Comparing to the minimum wage of around 1000 in 1997, those who did not or could not pay the contribution were evicted.

**As the eviction process begins again in 2026, resettlement remains undefined, turning it into a myth more than a hope or an alternative for housing.**

Figure 5.3. Resettlement housing at Chandivali, 2026.  
Source: Author.





## 5.2. How did homes become a Park?

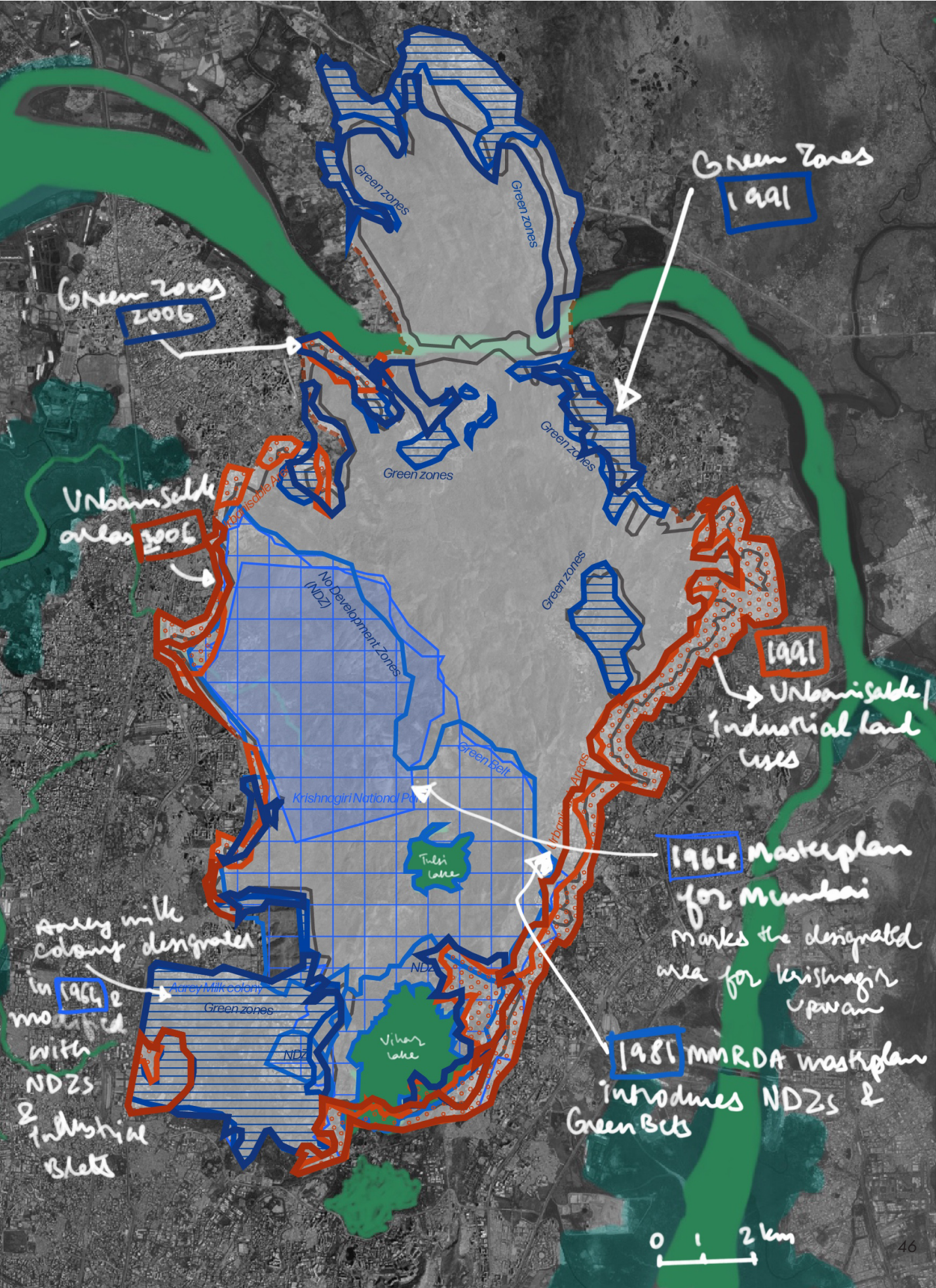
National parks are administrative constructs, used as tools for regulating and separating nature and culture. The story of Sanjay Gandhi National Park is no different. The key shifts in the planning and governance of the park can be seen in the timeline below (fig 5.5). What started as a 20sq.km reserved area governed by the Department of Parks and Gardens is now a 103.09 sq.km (Tribunal Report, 2000). National Park under the state agency, managed by Maharashtra state forest department.

The park as a gated protected area was first conceived in the second half of the 19th century, when the island city of Bombay saw a rapid rise in its population. The Tulsi and Vihar lakes were built to create a drinking water source. The city had not yet expanded to the north and the areas today known as Chandivali and Powai were forest covers with tribal villages. This heavy forest cover extended north into the state of Gujarat forming a continuous zone and sheltering the Adivasi community. The Adivasis are forest dwellers, previously called the tribal or aboriginal population of India comprising of 9% of population of the state of Maharashtra out of which 20% reside in Mumbai (Edelblutte, Gunnell, 2014). The SGNP today is home to around 43 'Padas' or hamlets in which 1,795 Adivasi families reside ((Edelblutte, Gunnell, 2014). Despite being the original inhabitants of the forest, the governance and expansion of the forest boundaries do not take into account the presence of the Adivasis.

The formation, governance and management of the park remained unstable and changed hands multiple times in the first few decades of its inception in 1950s. It shifted from the Department of Parks and Gardens to the State Government Forest Department. The first formalization of the park was as 'Krishnagiri Upvan' in the 1950s, when a 20sqkm area of forest in the Borivali region was declared as a reserved patch under the Mumbai National Park Act (Bhale, et.al, 2017). In this demarcation, the park was imagined as a recreational area. Around the same time in 1948, the Modak-Meyer plan was proposed. This was the first attempt at planning the entire region under known as Greater Mumbai today. This plan identified the need for northward expansion of the city towards the National Park. The governance and policies of the park over the next two decades took a shift toward wildlife conservation and nature protection reflecting a shift in the forest governance discourse on a national scale. The surrounding lands were acquired to expand the boundaries from a small patch to a National Park of 103.09 sq.km by 1996.

While the management and governance of the park itself is under the state government, policies around forest and forest dwellers are made at the National level. Defining the function of core areas and their restrictions, wildlife protection strategies and the Forest Act of 2005 that granted rights to the Adivasi community residing in the forest, are decisions made at the state and national levels.

Figure 5.41: Palimpsest of Development Plans  
Source: Author.  
Data: KRVIA (2023)





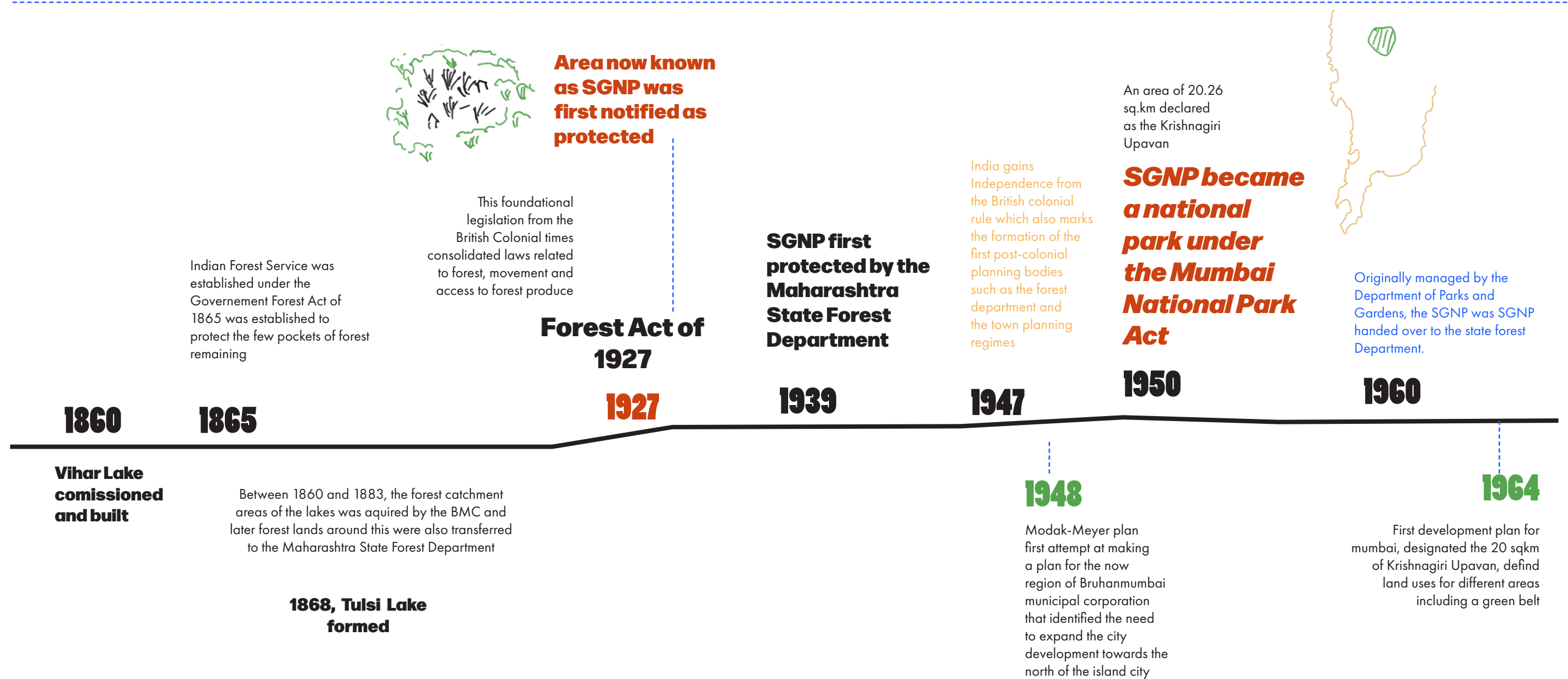


Figure 5.5: Evolution of SGNP as a designated National Park  
Source: Author.







Additionally, the forest being in a metropolitan region meant that the Mumbai, Thane, Mira Bhayandar and Vasai Virar municipal corporation along with the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority affect its spatial development at the local scale. The 1964 Development Plan marked the first formal masterplan of the city that continued the colonial legacy of planning based on land use and zoning. It made reservations for the Aarey milk colony to the south of the park, Krishnagiri Upvan in Borivali, and defined a green belt between a semi-urbanized Aarey forest and the reserved Krishnagiri Upvan as indicated in the map (fig 5.4.1).

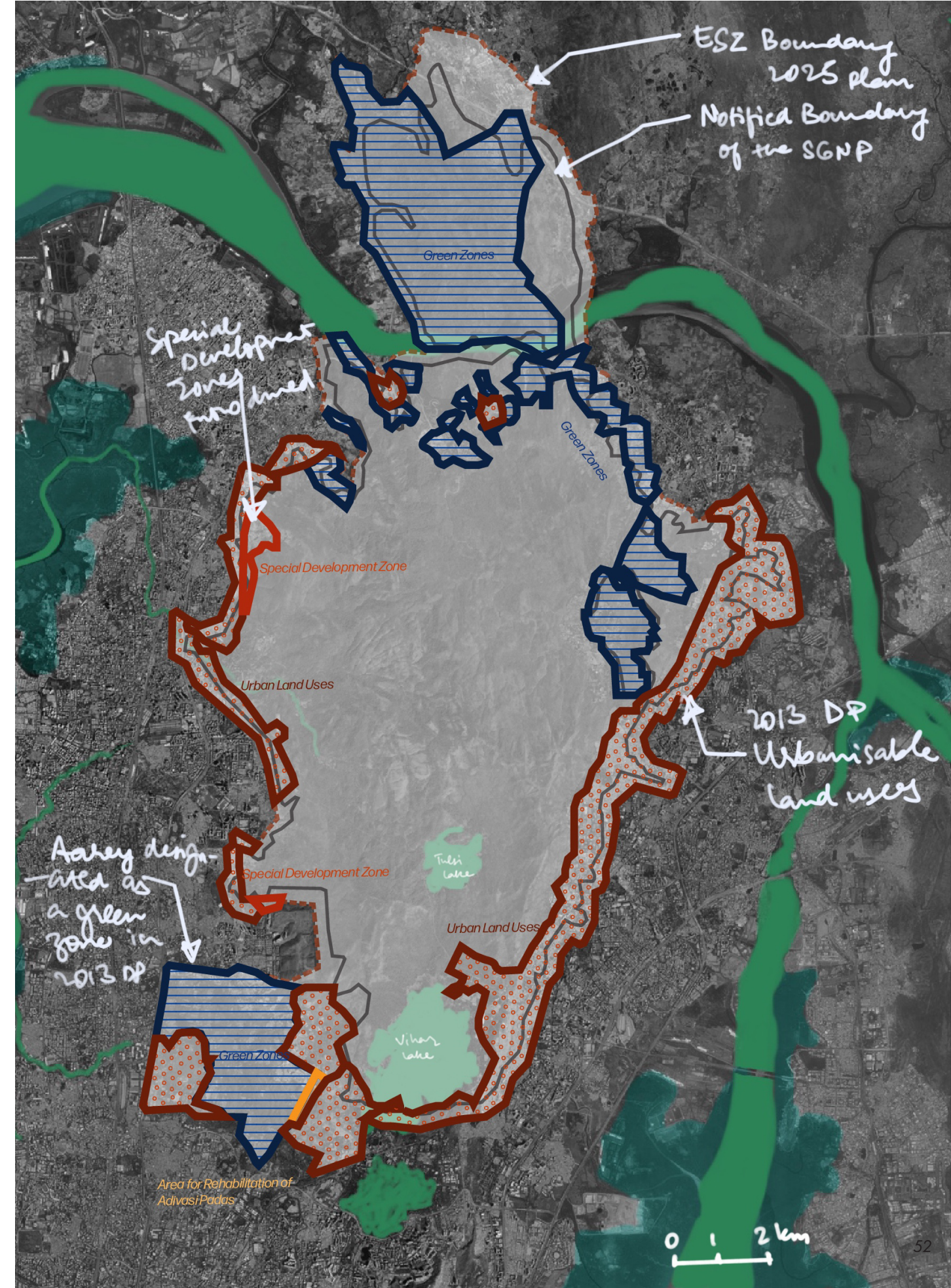
A key shift in environmental discourse was the introduction of 'No Development Zones' (NDZ) in the 1981 Development Plan that reinforced ecological conservation. It is puzzling as to why an area that is already inside the boundary of an already reserved forest needs no development zones? On the other hand, the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority proposed two distinct regional plans one in 1996 and the other in 2016, that defined core protected areas and green zones which allowed some activities to exist in pockets of the park that already had some form of development. Later, the individual municipalities also added to the regulations in planning the permissible non-core areas in the forest.

The 2025 Draft Zonal Masterplan operationalized the 2016 notification from the Ministry of Forest and Environment by introducing three types of buffer zones around the park, regulating the development in these areas. This has created unrest again amongst the Adivasis and Slum dwellers who are labelled as encroachers and are at the risk of losing their habitats again.

The park today covers an area of 103.09 sqkm, 7.72 sqm of which is allegedly encroached upon. For the Adivasi community who have resided in the forest for centuries, the real encroachment is the notion of the park and its boundaries drawn and redrawn over the last 75 years. Their homes are now called a National Park. Planning and environmental conservation thus become a colonial tool that define 'nature' and 'conservation' to marginalize and eventually erase communities to make the forests pristine.

The planning regimes fail to even map these settlements in the development plans for the National Park, let alone including them in the policies. Despite the Forest Act of 2005 that mandates the rights of the forest dwelling communities over land and resources, the community is in a perpetual state of uncertainty when it comes to their homes.

Figure 5.4.2 Palimpsest of Development Plans  
Source: Author.  
Data: KRVIA (2023)





### 5.3. How did the park become a home?

If we were to go back to the roots of what the city of Mumbai was like originally, the modern-day suburbs of Borivali, Kandivali, Malad, Thane and all the surrounding areas would be considered a forest. These were cut down to accommodate the growing city – to make houses, industries, offices and infrastructure. How do, then, some of the houses built on the same land turn out to be legal and others illegal?

The timeline below (fig 5.6) shows key shifts in the housing policies, relevant to the housing and eviction narratives around the SGNP. The policies had already drifted from an outlook of slum upgradation to rehabilitation in flats under the Slum Rehabilitation Authority. The rehabilitation of a majority of these settlements still remains unresolved after 30 years of ongoing conflict and struggle.

Under these dynamics, two significant “housing” typologies emerged in the residential areas around the SGNP boundaries from a legality perspective. The first typology refers to buildings made by developers who built and sold dwellings to people with paperwork. This typology is regarded as legal is often abutting the park boundaries. These are however not demarcated within eco-sensitive zones, despite creating ecological precarity. These parcels of land were either leased or bought from institutions in the city by developers to develop housing or amenities and sell them for profit. For example, the new “LodhaWoods” built next to the Damu Nagar slum in Kandivali is a high-end residential tower built recently next to the national park. This residential tower is not demarcated as an eco-sensitive zone. Most of the land in this stretch belonged to the industrial giant Mahindra & Mahindra who acquired the land from “GauRaksha trust” during British colonial times. These lands are now being converted into luxury housing under the real estate wing of the Mahindra industries. Historically, large portions of land around the forest were held by private entities and trusts, which are considered legal.

The second notable typology of housing around the national park boundaries is the slum settlements which are considered ‘illegal’ and ‘encroachments’. These houses were built on the forest fringes by the migrant population from the state of Maharashtra and other parts India. This settlement began in the 1970s when most of the areas around the national park were inaccessible and did not have electricity or water connections. People migrating in search of work and better living conditions to the city acquired small plots of land for a low cost from then the so-called ‘slumlords’ (NivaraHakk, n.d). In the course of the 1995 High Court case, the government had identified 50 such slumlords each who had sold 1500 dwellings ranging from 3000- 10,000, against whom action was taken (Nivara Hakk, n.d). These transactions were carried out through court fee stamp papers, with migrants unaware (Tribunal Report, 2000) of the illegality of the transaction. In a conversation with a resident for the 2000 Tribunal commission ‘Crushed homes, lost lives, a resident of Bhim Nagar stated, “I have been residing here since 30 years. I did not know that my home fell within the SGNP. Suddenly, my one-storied structure was demolished”.

It is, however, hard to believe that 7.2 acres of slums grew without the forest department noticing this. Another resident from the Bhim Nagar slum describes their relations and interaction with the forest department, “I built my home on an open plot of land about 28 years ago. I have had to pay money to the forest officials and policemen to permit my family to continue staying there.’ The fringes of the forest thus became a home through the use and abuse of power and the absence of affordable housing in the city. While developer led luxury homes continue to be built and acquire the status of legality through power and institutional backing, the homes built by the urban poor are still criminalized, although both ways of building serve the same purpose of housing under a growing metropolis. Legality, same as the national park, is thus just a construct created by power.



Approach to slums - illegal  
demolition and clearance

1970

1971

### Maharashtra Slum Improvement Act

The approach shifted to "tolerate"  
slum structures and upgrade  
them. If slums are demolished,  
people need to be relocated

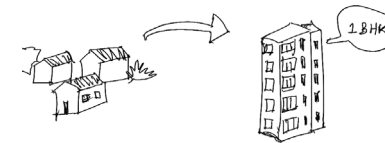
Site and Services scheme  
implemented in Charkop as a  
model for low- & middle- income  
housing

### Slum Upgradation program with the World Bank

1980s

Liberalization of the  
Indian economy  
came with the start  
of privatization of the  
housing market

1990s



1995

### Slum Rehabilitation Authority Formed

- Eligible slum inhabitants given new, on-site units that have a bedroom, bathroom, kitchen and toilet at no cost
- Implementation required obtaining consent of at least 75 percent of slum inhabitants
- Slum Inhabitants select developers
- Tenements cannot be sold by residents for next 10 years

High court ruling says  
75 per consent from  
slum dwellers not  
required anymore for  
starting rehabilitation

2013

2026

Figure 56: Timeline of Key Housing Shifts  
Source: Author  
Data: Indorewala (2018)









# Ch 6: Housing x Social Reproduction

## SRQ2: What shapes everyday life in the context of Adivasi padas and slum settlements in and around SGNP?

In contrast to the legal and economic dynamics described in Chapter 4, this section dives into the question of social reproduction to understand what sustains life within and around the SGNP forest. It focuses on the everyday life of residents and inquires into the functions that homes have under neoliberal urban development.

The following sub-sections decode the spatial and social dynamics- practices, struggles and occupation- that sustain life in Adivasi Padas and slum settlements despite repeated eviction threats. An Adivasi pada inside the forest boundary and a slum settlement on the periphery on the Mumbai side of the National park are chosen as cases to understand how social reproduction happens and what it means in these settlements. The first sub-section, ‘Social Reproduction in the SGNP Forest’, showcases the results of interviews with the residents of these two areas in the form of an atlas of living. This atlas consists of a set of counter-maps drawn for each of the interviews to identify key elements of social reproduction spatially. These key elements are then mapped as a network of practices, struggles, and occupations of social reproduction that sustain life in these areas as well as the city.

The aim of this section is to emphasize practices that have been made invisible by the politics of environmentalism instrumentalized by planning, policy and governance structures. The section concludes with by identifying the gaps in our understanding of housing that the frameworks around legal and affordable housing propagate. It establishes ecology and housing as one and reinstates that housing is an infrastructure that makes life possible.

Figure 6.1: Street life in a slum in SGNP with a main market street. 2026  
Source: Author.





Figure 6.1: Collage of Adivasi Padas and a Slum with the interviewees  
Source: Author.

## 6.1. Social Reproduction in the SGNP forest

Housing instability and insecurity has been a generational theme in the lives of Adivasis and slum dwellers in and around the SGNP forest. Slums and Adivasi Padas are self-built housing that have been rendered illegal through mechanisms discussed in chapter 4. The state has made attempts to “solve” this problem of illegal dwelling in the forest boundaries by providing alternate housing based on eligibility in the form of flats in rehabilitation schemes. The Slum Rehabilitation Authority responsible for this task has delivered just 30 percent of what it set to achieve in the last 30 years (Indorewala, 2026). The case of Chandivali resettlement where 11,000 of the 50,000 families evicted in the 2000s were resettled provides a glimpse of how housing alternatives have had little success. Apart from insufficient tenements provided, these schemes fail to look at housing as a site where life is produced and reproduced, condensing it into property value. This outlook towards housing needs to be disrupted by investigating the “messy and fleshy stuff” (Katz, 2009 as cited by Miraftab, et.al, 2024) of the everyday life.

The following pages make an attempt at understanding social reproduction in the SGNP forest through an ‘Atlas of Living’, carefully constructed through semi-structured interviews with the Adivasi community and slum dwellers residing in the SGNP. This section unpacks multiple dimensions of life – identity, culture, community, livelihood, hopes, struggles and more in the everyday life of residents. This is synthesized in the next section as practices, struggles and occupations of social reproduction.

The atlases are to be read in three layers – a base counter-map that spatializes the everyday, an overlay of key parts from my conversations with the residents and a glossary accompanying the atlas, that extracts key elements of social reproduction. This section contains eight atlases that have been used to counter-map housing in SGNP. The identities of the interviewees are not revealed for privacy reasons. A headshot of a sketch is made as a key to identify and correlate the maps, conversations and elements of social reproduction.

This section reveals that the elements of social reproduction cut across the scales of – the body, home, community, neighborhood, park and the city. They cover various enabling and disabling mechanisms of a social, cultural, economic, aspirational and environmental components that make the reproduction and maintenance of people as well as the city possible.





ANcestors ARE ALSO BELIEVED TO BE IN NEWBORNS, BIRDS & ANIMALS.

DESTRUCTION OF THE  
FOREST HAS A DEEP CULTURAL  
& EMOTIONAL LINK  
TO THE ADIVASIS

SAURAT IS A GOD THAT PROTECTS THE FOREST. THERE IS ENERGY IN THE FOREST

THE ADIVASIS ARE  
- NATURE WORSHIPPERS.  
THE BODIES ARE BURIED & CONSIDERED  
FERTILISERS FOR TREES.

PATCHES OF FARMS BELONGING TO ADIVASI FAMILIES WERE ACQUIRED TO MAKE THEM GARDENS FUNDED BY CSR INITIATIVES

OLD WAYS OF CONSTRUCTION  
A LIVING ARE EXTINCT

THE COMMUNITY HAS RELIED ON KEROSENE & OIL LAMPS UNTIL THEY WERE ABLE TO STEAL ELECTRICITY FROM THE GRID.

REVOLVES AROUND  
THE FOREST, BIRDS,  
RIVER

THE FOREST  
VER

THIS  
PAINTING  
MADE BY THE  
ARTIST SHOWS A  
BABY ELEPHANT  
THE KIDS USED TO  
PLAY WHEN HE WAS  
A CHILD, SHE USED  
TO BREAK HER CHAINS  
& COME TO THE VILLAGE

THE ADIVASI CULTURE & WAY OF LIFE CANNOT BE CONTAINED IN THE 4 WALLS OF A FLAT IN MUMBAI

TRADITIONAL  
KNOWLEDGE  
IS PASSED  
DOWN ORALLY  
BUT VERY  
FEW AMONG  
THE YOUNGER  
GENERATION  
REMAIN  
CURIOUS

WARU is  
A TRADITIONAL  
FORM OF PRINTING  
WHICH IS PRACTICED  
BY VERY  
FEW

ALL PEOPLE YOUNG & OLD, EVEN  
SMALL KIDS ARE GOING  
THERE TO FIGHT

AS THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
THE FOREST RULES CHANGED & THEY WERE  
CALLED "ENCROACHMENT HOLDERS" TARGET

6. The ticket checker caught me on my first day to college. I showed him my pass but he made me stand on the side. This happened repeatedly until we became acquaintances!"

"They thought I was travelling illegally"

“ज्ञातं प्राप्स्यती संद्विष्य  
यत् नृणाम् use होईल”  
A person becomes a part  
of nature after their  
death.

All our ancestor  
are buried under  
these trees in the  
forest

66 HOW CAN YOU  
THINK OF  
RESENTMENT  
FOR ALL OF  
THEM??

This happened repeatedly until we became acquaintances. 1)

IS BECAUSE OF THE ADIVASI & THEIR

"माझी संस्कृती जंगल आहे, बाहेर चार कोपऱ्यात नाही राहू शकत"

Their hut is taken over by animals & trees.

"They tell me - ... You will

“माझी संस्कृती जंगलत  
आहे, बाहेर चार कोपऱ्यात  
नाहि राहू शकत”

Their hut is taken over by animals & trees.

"They tell me -  
Go outside. You will  
earn well & have a  
good house & a good  
life. But this is the  
best life for me."

66 The people who were removed under the pretext of resettlement were thrown out in truck-loads. They were entitled to jobs, a proof of land-ownership. NONE OF THEM GOT ANY OF THESE"

— "निये बांबू या नामो निशान नाही"

चांगल म्हणजे काय ?

"We have been living naturally for years. If you do not want to give us electricity, water, we can still live."

"The forest department's job is to save the forest - its trees & birds, not to save the Activists who are also a part of it"

"The 2005 forest art has many nice things."

“आदिवासी वर अत्याचार करणे हा त्यांचा जॉब नाही”

WE NEED  
TO EMPOWER  
OURSELVES" &

Our ancestors have  
taught us  
to live on  
our own

“The government overlooks the importance of the Adivasi in conserving the forest”

69 learnt  
to paint from  
my grandma.

I went to her during  
the weekends &  
holidays"

6. The colors of warli signify earth as the brown & black as the white.

उ० ५ "मातृचा शंभ  
जन्मिती पासून येतो  
आणि दुसरा पाठंरा हा  
रागी पासून, ज्याचा मुळे  
आपत पांशे शकतो "

They made it clear from their side by making this file that called us "ENCROACHERS"

Now I help people  
file their cases,  
"वन दावे"

People back then  
did not know how  
to fight for their  
rights

“ते घाबरून तिघून  
जायचे” 64





**Imagination & Story telling:** Dissemination of culture and tradition through warli art form. Keeping the art alive is a way of reinstating the Adivasi identity.

**Culture: Mythology:** Mythological stories of forms that protect the forest are passed down orally and through warli art between generations. This practice is a way to ensure protection of the forest and the life and resources it provides to the inhabitants. The story

**Culture: Nature worship:** The Adivasis are originally nature worship. The way of living is tied closely to nature. Worship of the forest, animals, birds, river, ancestors, and grain for example

**Intergenerational resistance:** The struggle for housing has been going on for years and people have grown old with it. Young kids today are also a part of protests when the bulldozer hits their ground.

**Loss: Land:** Land that was originally used for farming by the Adivasi community has been converted into thematic gardens – cactus and bamboo. Farming and cattle rearing is banned inside the park boundary.

**Regeneration:** An Adivasi person when they die, complete a full circle when they are buried in the ground and become fertilizer for trees. Their homes as well are abandoned and taken over by trees and animals.

**Care: Non-human:** Caring for forest animals, birds and trees is a way of living in the forest. It is because of the Adivasis residing inside that the forest remains under a check. Story of rani the baby elephant for example illustrates this well. Destruction of the forest has a deep cultural and emotional value for the Adivasi.

**Network: Legal:** Educating yourself by reading the laws and policies related to Adivasi rights is a way of occupation. This creates a network of care within the community.

**Network: Organization:** Bringing people from the community together to fight against injustices at the scale of the city and the region forms a network of occupation, making the movement much stronger.

**Ambiguity:** The eviction and resettlement process is designed to be ambiguous, leaving people confused about their agency and position in their own lives. Repeated displacement of people within and outside the forest shows that priorities of the state shift based on capital demands.

**Collective memory:** Resettling a graveyard: Generations of the Adivasis have lived with the forest. This has been passed down to generations as collective memory. They first worship their ancestors in the forest. How can you resettle all the trees under which the ancestors have been buried?

**Identity:** The way you look and dress up forms a part of your daily struggles to navigate the city. Taking the Mumbai local for the first time as narrated in the atlas was an example of this.

**Good Life:** The idea of owning a flat in the city and working outside is sold as 'levelling up' or making the house better for you and your family. Who is to decide what good life for an Adivasi is?



**Access: Sustenance:** The daily sustenance and livelihood of the adivasi communities originally depended on the forest. These practices of foraging wood for construction and fuel, fruits and vegetables for food, have become almost extinct today as a result of forest laws that prevent the adivasis from using the forest as a resource for their everyday needs.

**Indigenous Knowledge:** Seasonal patterns: Food habits and livelihood of the Adivasi community depended on seasons – growing vegetables in the monsoon and winters, picking mango and other fruit in the summers. Sharing with the forest animals was a crucial part of this way of living.

**Indigenous Knowledge:** Managing Natural Resources: Practices such as 'khaddyacha paani' or water obtained by digging small holes in or near the river bed were common before bore-wells were introduced by the forest department.

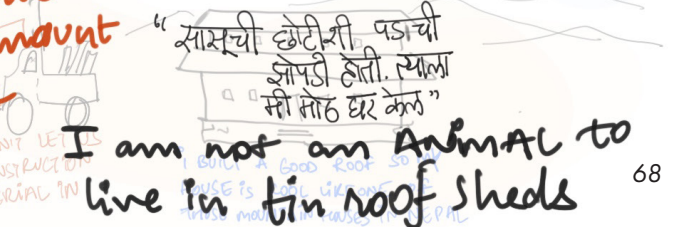
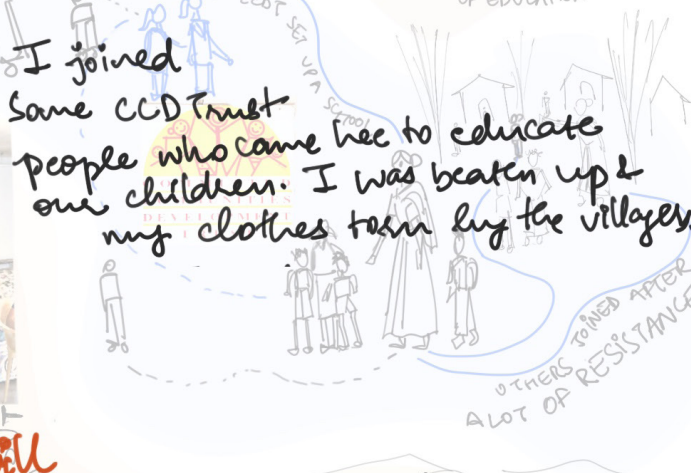
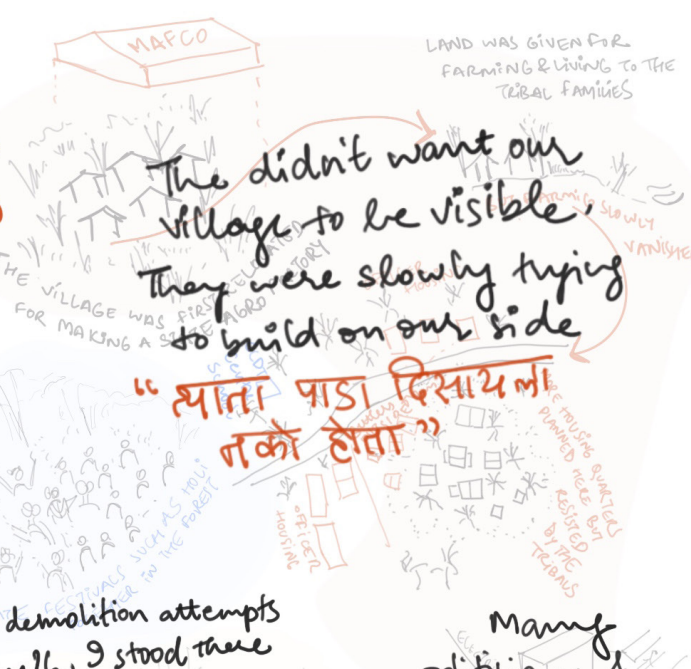
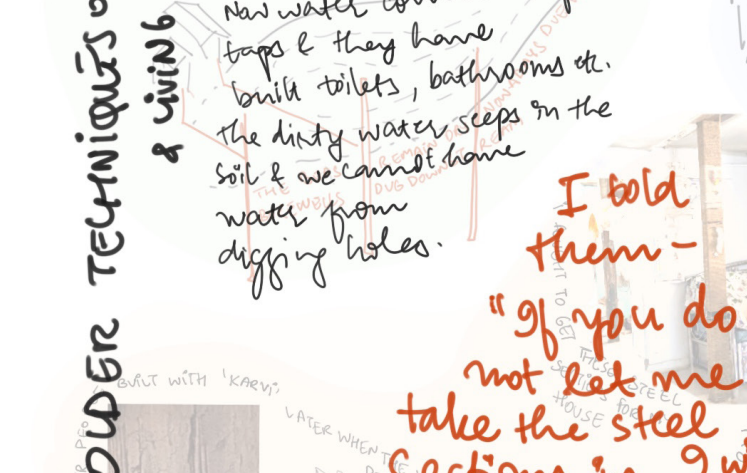
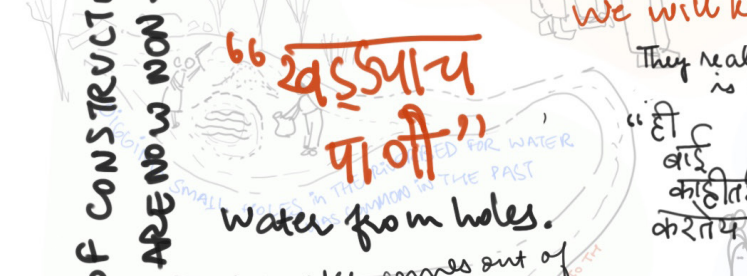
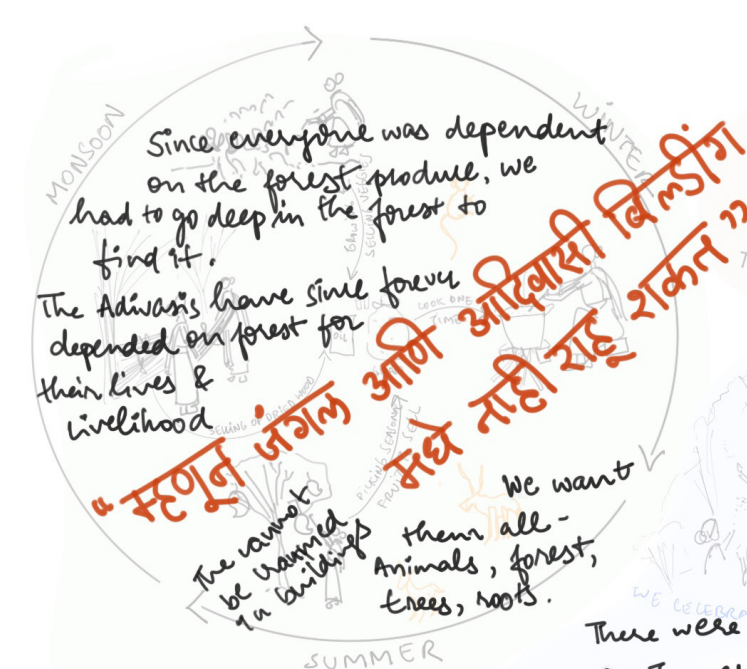
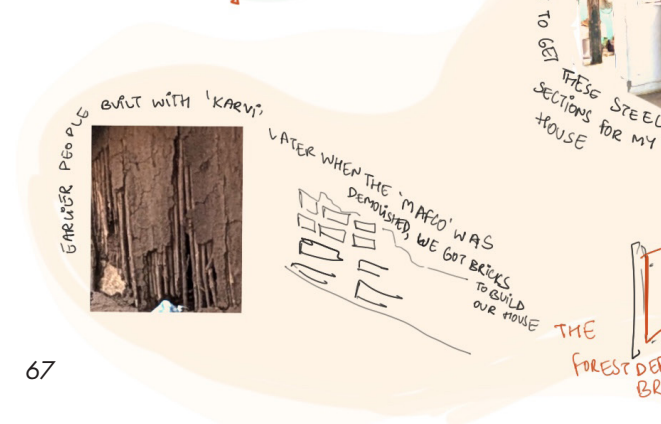
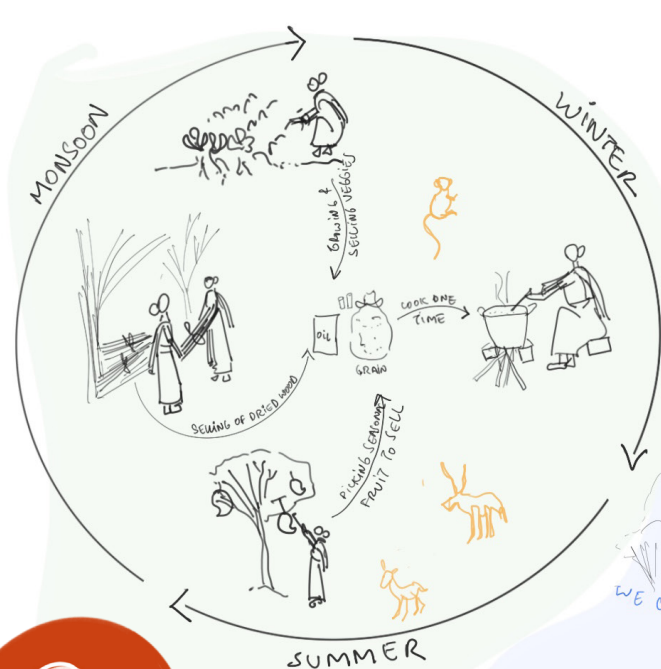
**Access: To Services:** Although water, electricity and sewer lines reach the National park – it's guest houses and officer's houses, they do not reach the Adivasi settlements. The Adivasi pada although located in Mumbai, got its access to water just 5 years ago.

**Access: To Material:** Essential construction material such as brick and cement are not allowed to enter the National Park boundaries if they are for the houses of the Adivasi community. However, for new construction of eco-stays, this is allowed by the park.

**Displacement: Internal:** The entire village was moved from its original location in the forest when the state government wanted to build the MAFCO bacon factory. The villagers were given another piece of land to live and farm.

**Network: Education:** NGOs such as the 'Committed Communities Development Trust' set their base in the forest with the aim to educate the Adivasi kids. This network lives through the commitment of women from the Adivasi community. This intergenerational engagement inspired more women from the community to join this cause.





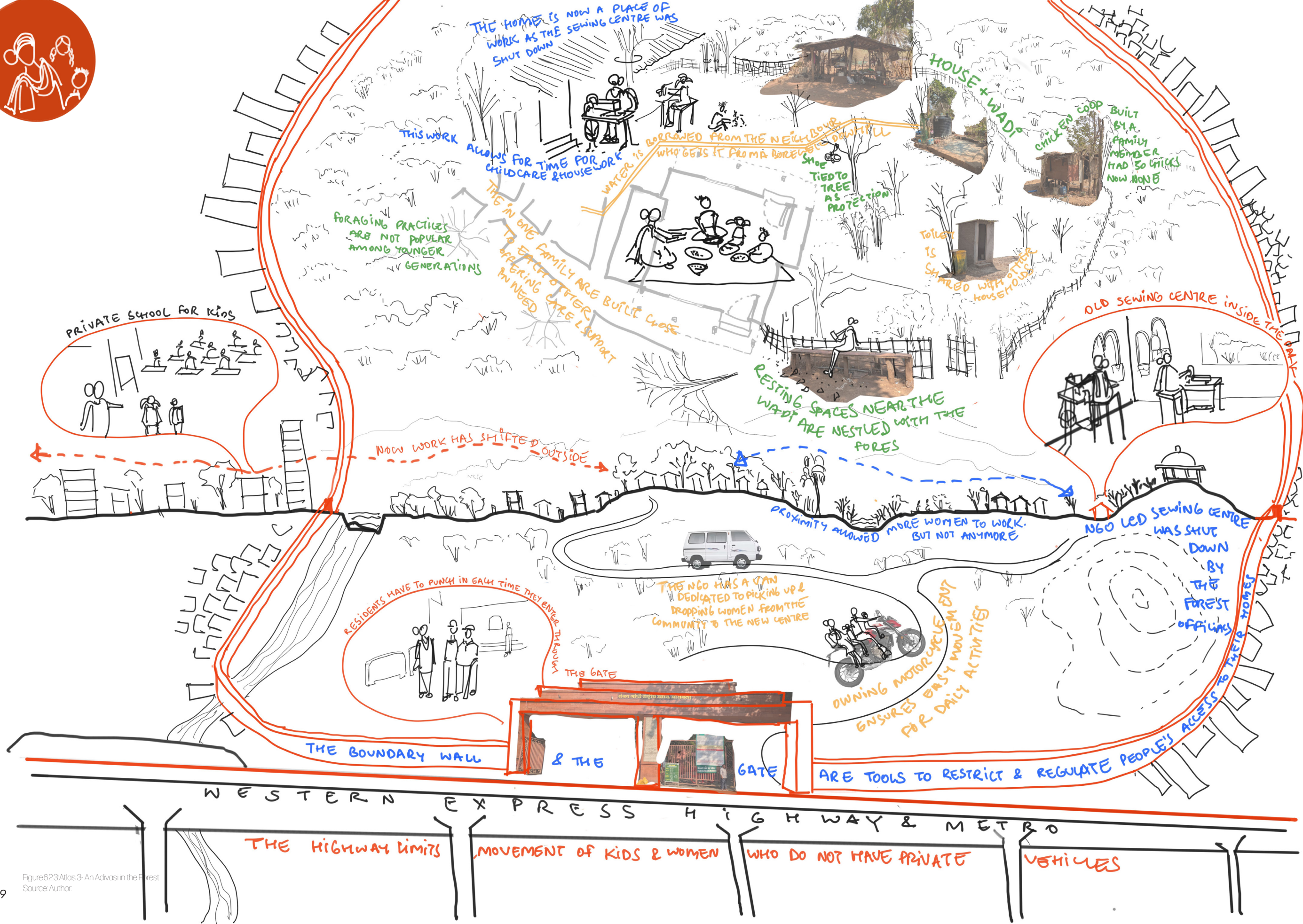
OLDER TECHNIQUES OF CONSTRUCTION & LIVING ARE NOW NON-EXISTENT

“खड्याच पाणी”

“If you do not let me take the steel sections in, I will take that same amount of wood from the forest”

“सासची छोटीरी पडची जोपडी होती त्याला मी मोठ घर केले”







These days no one uses 'karni' wood to build. "We are not allowed to get it from the forest. Some went there with my mother-in-law. It was not fun."

"रुत पत कसरी आले मी"

"People build with tin sheets etc. but we built with brick because my mother-in-law fought."

"I did not get schooled in English"

The fees is high in private schools but we have to manage. It is the one closest to our home. **but I want my daughter to. It is very important these days.**

Even job interviews are done in English"

"If our kids are asked at school where they live, other kids find it amusing. For them, Adivasi means the ones wearing leaves & flowers"

"आदिवासी म्हणजे ते फुल पत्ते लावणारे का? त्यांना अजब वाट."

I used to work at a coffee chain before. It was easier to move around the city because my parents house was outside. Now I cannot do that hospitality job. It is not compatible with my life.

"तो जॉब काय आपल्या संसाराशी जुक्त नव्हता"

"आम्हाला पुनरवसन नाही पाहिजे, ही आमची मायभूमी आहे"

"Generations have lived here before us. This land belongs to us. We do not want rehabilitation"

"Most of those women who work full time have older kids to look after their younger ones"

"My kids are 4 & 12, I cannot leave them alone"

There are no buses connecting the village to the city. "I have to rely on my husband who has a bike"

"THIS IS LIKE A JAIL FOR US"

PEOPLE RESIDING INSIDE HAVE TO SIGN AT THE GATE EACH TIME THEY GO IN OR OUT

"There are no healthcare facilities here, my son has health issues. He has had 2 surgeries & needs speech therapy. Although the teachers are supportive."

for water supply, there is a borewell from the forest department & people draw water from there

"I fill my water tanks using my neighbour's connection."

"जुन्या पासून नव बनवायच अस होत"

"YOU WILL LEARN A NEW SKILL WHICH WILL ALWAYS BE USEFUL" they encouraged us to do this work, earn our own money, work that was not very demanding.

SEWA Charitable Trust set up a sewing centre here

"I make all kinds of bags - big & small from recycled cloth that the NGO gives us"

Women who do this all day easily earn 15-20k per month. I can do only 3-4k with my housework etc.

THE NEW FOREST OF AILER SHUT DOWN OUR CENTRE.

The NGO now shifted 4-5 km away, is out of the forest.



**'Jidda' Determination:** Living here requires the courage to fight for basic services and movement. Community gatherings and festivals important to the culture are made possible only by occupation through determination.

**Good Life:** Living in a house on the land that is rightfully mine. Built like the ones in the mountains, from permanent material and with good light and ventilation. Dignified living, not like an animal in a shed.



**Community: Incremental building:** Houses are built for newly married couples close to the house of the groom's parents. The older houses however are taken over by nature after the death of the older generations.

**Care: Childcare:** Childcare is usually the responsibility of women. In some households, older kids take care of the younger ones so that the mother can engage in paid work.

**Network: paid work/NGO:** NGO's often find their ways into settlements teaching women skills such as sewing, setting up home based cooking businesses that enable them to earn while still fulfilling their care responsibilities.

**Culture: 'Saunsar' Family:** The responsibilities of running a household and all unpaid care-work is upon women, who as a result, often quit their jobs after getting married.

**Access: Movement:** Without bus services and public transport, women without their own vehicles have to depend on others for their mobility.

**Access: Workplace:** Allowing or disallowing activities within the forest boundaries is upon the forest officials who have the authority to shut down small initiatives such as the sewing center set up by the NGO for Adivasi women.

**Community: Sharing services:** Water connection, electricity, toilets are shared between households where it is illegal to have access to these basic amenities.

**Access: Education:** Kids have to be sent to private schools for education through English medium. These schools charge high fees as compared to government schools which are

inaccessible and less competent.

**Access: Healthcare:** There are no healthcare facilities inside the park boundaries.

**Recycling:** Construction material such as cement poles are used again to make sheds or verandah extensions. Recycling also occurs in the sewing work where old clothes are used to make new bags.

**Community: Festivals:** The community celebrates festivals such as holi together. 'Gaavdevi' temples are usually spaces that bring people together.

**Identity:** Are adivasis the ones that wear leaves and flowers?

**Access: Home:** Adivasis residing inside have to sign their names at the park gate each time they enter or exit the park.

**Good Life:** One where we have all the basic amenities for living- water electricity, markets, buses. And our children get the education, playgrounds they need. Where we do not have to explain our identities and live with dignity.



**Network: Partnership/'Bhagidari':** Organizations partnering with community members and not simply engaging the community lead to long term occupational support.

**Indigenous Knowledge:** Knowledge about the forest and nature-culture practices that the Adivasi community embodies need to be valued by the state and their rights recognized.

**Ecological Value:** Ecological value of the forest comes with its people. Planners and environmentalists need to understand the forest as an ecosystem and not separate elements- trees, birds, animals.

**Dissemination:** People from the city need to engage in what is being lost – nature and culture both. Dissemination through walks partnered with the community are an important practice.







**'Fasavnuk' / Fraud:** People living in the slums around the National Park were sold land for low rates and illegally by 'slumlords'. These people, mostly poor migrants were not made aware of the legalities of the place until demolitions began.

**'Fasavnuk' / Cheating:** Companies such as electric companies use the ambiguous legal status of houses in slum settlements to their advantage – asking people for bribes or No Objection Certificates despite having an electric meter.

**Community: Legal Care:** Well meaning residents of the community collect and store documents of others from the area. This is especially important when most people do not understand their documents and are overwhelmed by the process of applying for rehabilitation.

**Ambiguity: Communication:** The amount paid for rehabilitation is misconceived by many as a fine to be paid to the government for living on forest land.

**Ambiguity: Repeated surveys:** The state has conducted surveys marking the number of houses in the slums repeatedly but the information is not available publicly.

**Collective memory:** growth and de-growth of the area. Small factories and the area being richer before.

**Livelihood: Multitasking:** Production of the city

**Community: Self Organisation:** Slums are usually organized based on castes and religion, with people from the same caste clustered together. These are called 'chawls' and each chawl is registered with an informal leader. This organization disappears with demolition and rebuilding.

**Landmarking:** It is common to identify places based on daily use landmarks such as taps, or following cable routes, or even houses of peoples inside the slum.

**Sense of Safety: Tenure:** Filling the rehabilitation forms and paying the required amounts gives a sense of tenure security to the residents although the process has been going on for long.

**Good life:** One where the house had water, electricity and internet connection. This is enough even if you ask me to live in the forest.



**Internal Migration:** People migrate in and out of the city based on circumstance. If someone is sick for example or a death of the family member in the village.

**Self building :** Self Building is a common practice in both the slums and Adivasi padas. Building techniques grow slowly from temporary material to more permanent brick and mortar structures as perceived threat reduces or income of the family increases. The size of the tenement also grows based on the needs of the family.

**Community:** building together: People who migrate from villages try to find their family/ community to settle around. Housing is made through community and trust.

**Documentation:** Gathering and filing of documents for rehabilitation is a struggle especially for older people who are unread. This often adds to the disinformation and distrust in the rehabilitation process which is already ambiguous.

**Hazards: Fire/Floods:** Fires are a repeated occurrence in slum areas. The recent one in this area was a large fire from a cylinder blast in 2016. Situated on a hilly terrain, torrential rains and floods make the houses more precarious. Not only material but documentation of people is often lost in such hazards, making it difficult to prove their claim for rehabilitation later.

**Community: Care in crisis:** Providing food and blankets while people rebuild

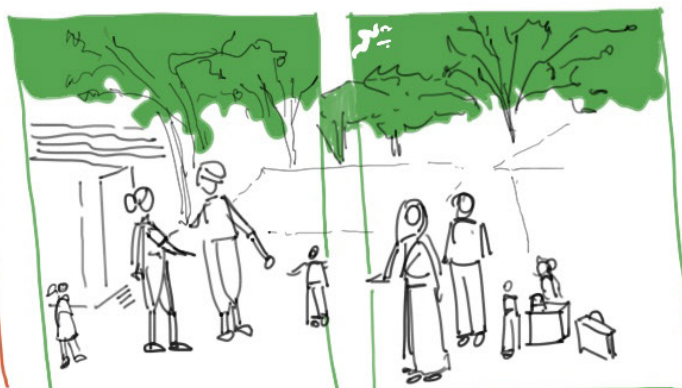
**Rehabilitation Struggle:** Maintenance: Paying the amount for garbage, electricity in common areas and maintenance of building is a struggle especially for older people who do not have a means of livelihood anymore. Their daily sustenance is at stake.

**Rehabilitation Struggle: Isolation:** Feeling isolated in rehabilitation flats is particularly a common experience among the elderly. Inviting younger couples who are related to them is a way of survival even when tenure security has been established.

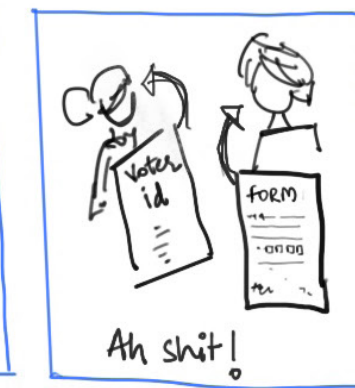
**Care: Elder Care:** Older generations hope to be cared for by their children and reproduction happens primarily for these purposes. In many instances, people move back to their villages as they grow old since they find familiarity and community in the village environments.

**Good Life:** Is where a person feels secure growing old. They are catered to; not just their needs but also entertainment and things that bring joy to life.





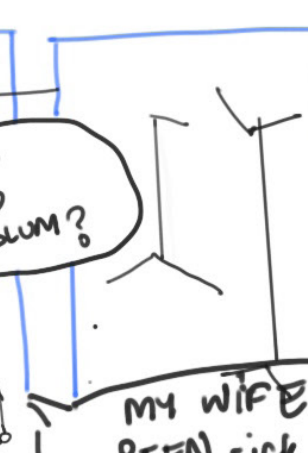
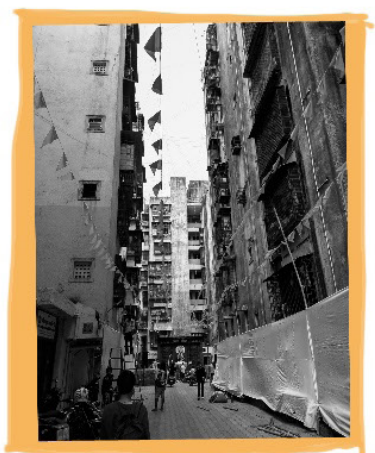
MANY PEOPLE MIGRATED TO MUMBAI IN SEARCH OF JOBS, LEAVING THEIR VILLAGES WITH JUST A SUITCASE. THEY SETTLED AROUND THE FOREST, BUILT THEIR HOUSES SLOWLY & BUILT A COMMUNITY AS THEIR RELATIVES & FRIENDS ALSO STARTED COMING IN



WE HAD TO SUBMIT A FORM FOR RESETTLEMENT THE FORM GOT FILLED WRONGLY. IT WAS DEEMED INVALID SINCE IT WAS FILLED IN THE WIFE'S NAME BUT ATTACHED DOCUMENTS BELONGED TO THE HUSBAND



A LARGE FIRE BROKE OUT IN 2016 WHEN A GAS CYLINDER BURST. PEOPLE RAN FOR THEIR LIVES & THAT OF THEIR FAMILIES. MANY ALSO LOST THEIR DOCUMENTS IN THIS FIRE



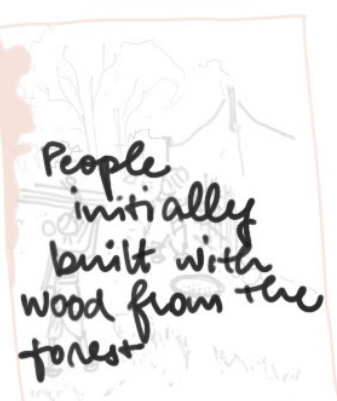
SOME PEOPLE GRANTED HOUSING THROUGH THE SLUM REHABILITATION SCHEME ARE ACCUSED OF SELLING/RENTING THESE HOUSE. THIS DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT PEOPLE'S MIGRATION NEEDS, OR THE LACK OF CARE INFRASTRUCTURE, OR EVEN THE HIGH MAINTENANCE COSTS OF THESE BUILDINGS.....

Figure 6.26 Atlas 6: A slum dweller in the Forest  
Source: Author.





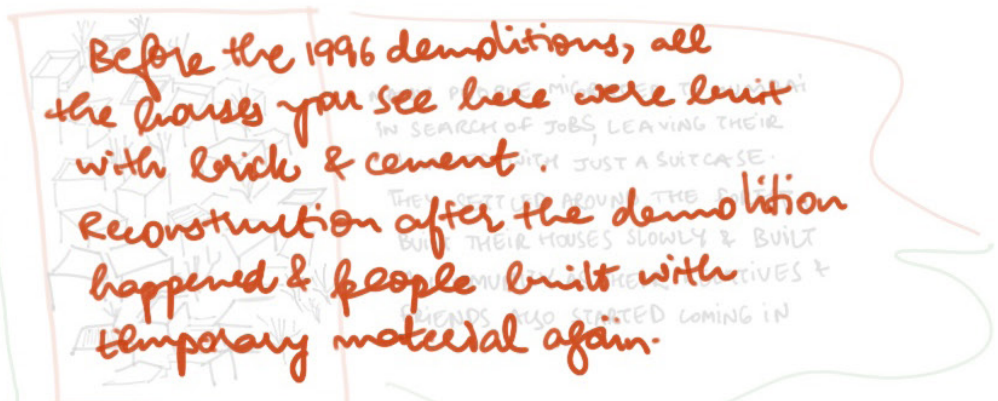
"A guy at my work brought me here. He knew someone who could sell me land to build on."



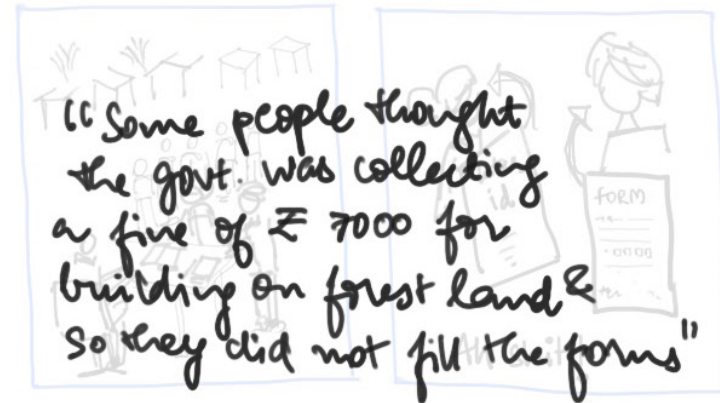
People initially built with wood from the forest



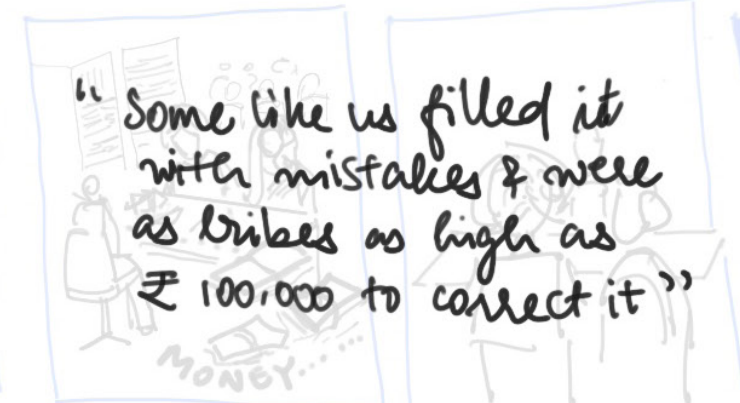
"My sister and her husband moved soon after us. we helped them get this plot & settle here"  
The community grew



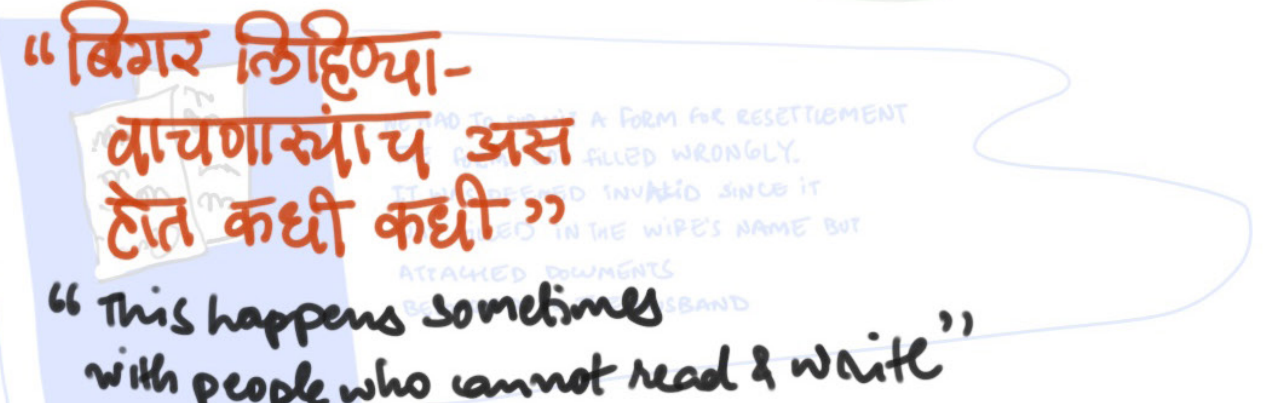
Before the 1996 demolitions, all the houses you see here were built with brick & cement.  
Reconstruction after the demolition happened & people built with temporary material again.



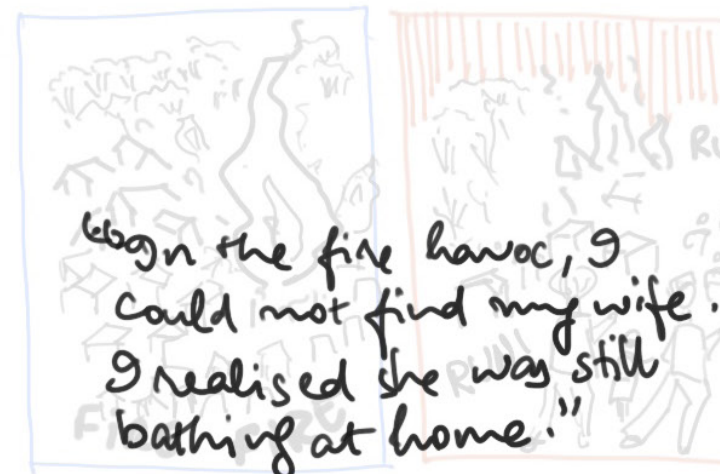
"Some people thought the govt. was collecting a fine of ₹ 7000 for building on forest land & so they did not fill the forms"



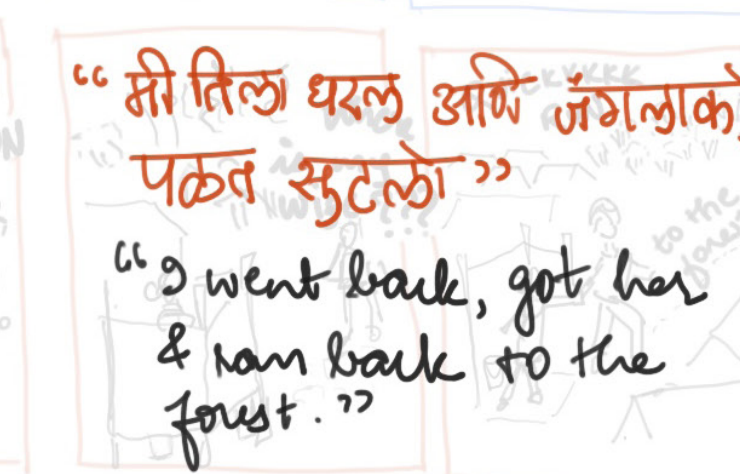
"Some like us filled it with mistakes & were as bribes as high as ₹ 100,000 to correct it"



"बिगर लिहिण्या- वाचनाच्याच अस होत कधी कधी"  
"This happens sometimes with people who cannot read & write"



"On the fire havoc, I could not find my wife. I realised she was still bathing at home."



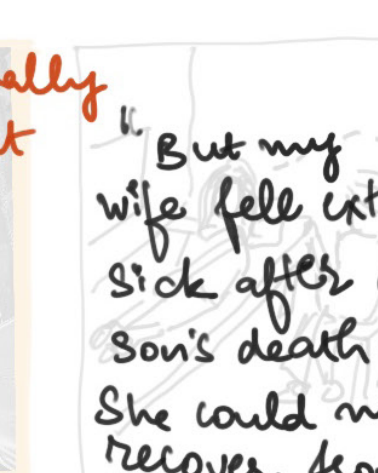
"मी तिला घराला आणि जंगलाकडे पळत सुटलो"  
"I went back, got her & ran back to the forest."



People from other neighbourhoods helped a lot during the fire



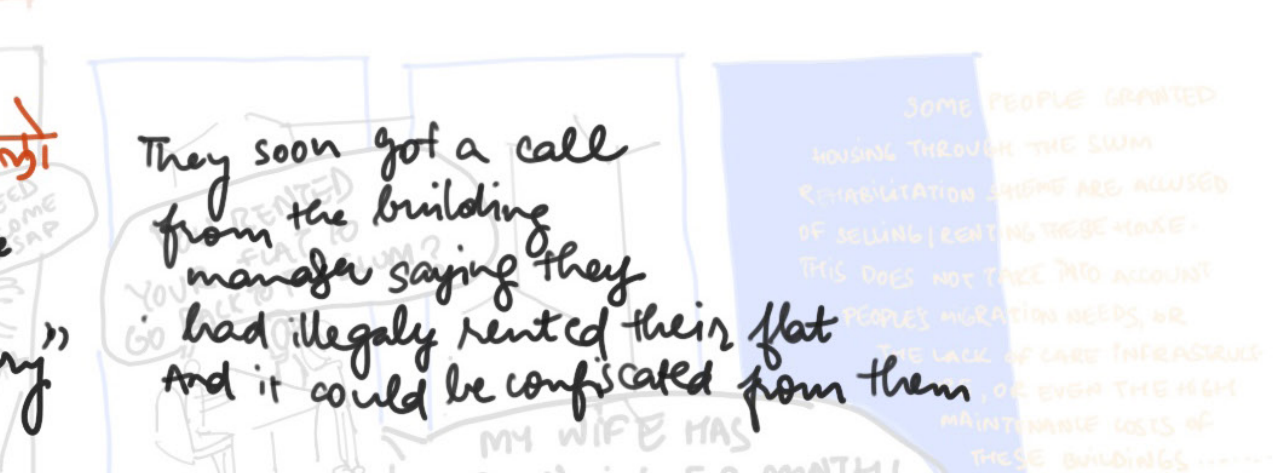
"We were finally allotted a flat in the Chandivali Rehab Scheme"



"But my wife fell extremely sick after our son's death. She could not recover from the shock"



"आम्ही पुन्हा गावाकडे गेलो"  
"We move to the village for her recovery"



They soon got a call from the building manager saying they had illegally rented their flat And it could be confiscated from them

SOME PEOPLE GRANTED HOUSING THROUGH THE SWM REHABILITATION SCHEME ARE ACCUSED OF SELLING/RENTING THESE FLATS. THIS DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT PEOPLE'S MIGRATION NEEDS, OR THE LACK OF LAKE INFRASTRUCTURE, OR EVEN THE HIGH MAINTENANCE COSTS OF THESE BUILDINGS.





INTERNAL MIGRATION HAPPENS  
MULTIPLE TIMES THROUGHOUT A PERSON'S  
LIFETIME

1. MOVED AS A CHILD  
FAMINE  
3. MOVED FOR  
PARENTS  
2. MARRIED

THE HOUSING INFRASTRUCTURE  
IS NOT BUILT FOR THIS



HOUSES WERE FIRST BUILT WITH CONSTRUCTION  
MATERIAL FROM THE FOREST... SIMILAR TO THE  
TRIBAL COMMUNITY, THE MATERIAL  
CHANGED TO BRICK & CONCRETE WITH TIME



ELDER CARE IS ONE OF  
THE IMPORTANT REASONS  
ALONG WITH LIVELIHOOD,  
FOR INTERNAL  
MIGRATION

RESETTLEMENT  
DOCUMENT  
COLLECTION

9N  
BETWEEN  
WORK & HOUSEWORK  
PEOPLE HAVE TO FIND  
& SUBMIT THEIR DOCUMENTS  
BEFORE THE DEADLINE. SURVEYS  
& THIS PROCESS HAS HAPPENED TWICE  
BEFORE ALREADY IN 2000 & 2008



HOUSE WORK IS GENERALLY THE RESPONSIBILITY  
OF WOMEN IN THEIR OWN HOUSEHOLDS

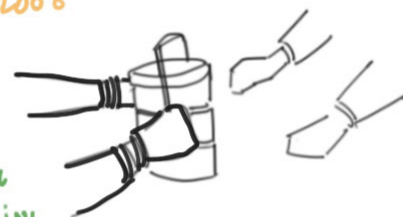


MANY WOMEN LIVING IN THE SLUM SETTLEMENT  
ALSO DO PAID HOUSEWORK & CARE WORK  
FOR THE NEIGHBOURING HIGH RISES



NEIGHBOURS  
KEEP AN  
EYE ON EACH OTHER  
SPOTTING EASILY STRANGERS  
ON THE  
STREETS

MORNINGS  
ARE BUSY WITH  
COOKING & GETTING  
EVERYONE IN THE FAMILY READY TO GO OUT,  
PACKING THEIR LUNCH, ETC



THERE ARE  
SEVERAL WATER  
TAPS IN THESE AREAS.  
WATER NEEDS TO BE  
FILLED & TRANSPORTED  
BACK HOME MANUALLY

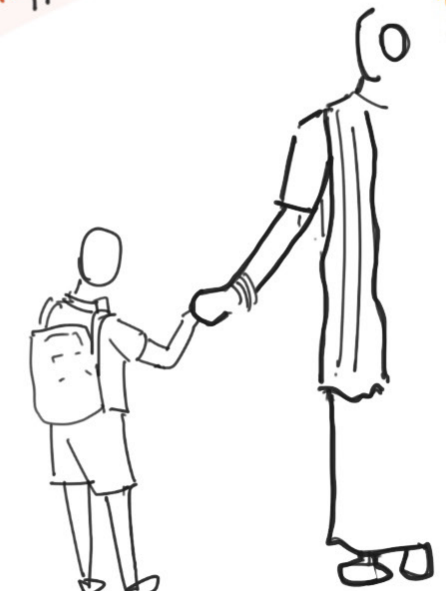


Figure 627 Atlas 7-A slum dweller in the Forest  
Source: Author.



Many families from the hinterlands of the state of Maharashtra moved here during the famine in 1970s.

"1972 ला आमी आमी इथे आलो"

"This was all a forest area when I moved here with my family as a child. There was just this water tank up there"

HOUSES WERE FIRST BUILT WITH CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL FROM THE FOREST... SIMILAR TO THE TRIBAL COMMUNITY. THE MATERIAL CHANGED TO BRICK & CONCRETE WITH TIME

"We had to move to Mumbai after my marriage because there was no one to take care of my parents"

"Some communities (castes) have combined trusts for taking care of the older people, their needs but also their entertainment"

RESETTLEMENT DOCUMENT COLLECTION

The resettlement survey has been done multiple times. People however do not have any clear idea about the sites & timelines of resettlement.

BEFORE ALREADY IN 2000 & 2008

Materiality of the house kept changing as a result of eviction & rebuilding

HOUSE WORK IS GENERALLY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF WOMEN IN THEIR OWN HOUSEHOLDS

Paid or unpaid, domestic work & care work forms the whole of many women's lives living in these areas.

MANY WOMEN LIVING IN THE SWM SETTLEMENT ALSO DO PAID HOUSEWORK & CARE WORK FOR THE NEIGHBOURING HIGH RISES

As a researcher walking around this area, I was asked several times who I was & what I was doing here.

"मी तेच विचार केला ही कोन बाई येउन बसली"

"Whose house do you want to visit?"

**Needs first!**  
The day & life of caregivers revolves around needs of others, making even small acts such as conversing with new people seem like a waste of time.

"Fortunately, we do not have water shortage issues"

Common taps are used for drinking & domestic water use.

SEVERAL WATER TAPS IN THESE AREAS. WATER NEEDS TO BE FILLED & TRANSPORTED BACK HOME MANUALLY

There is a private school near Akumbli where most kids from our neighbourhood go to study.

There are some nanganwadis in the chawls.



**Care: Paid Care work:** Many women from the slum areas work in neighboring gated societies as house help. This includes cleaning, cooking, looking after kids or elderly. Production and reproduction of life is made possible by women in both the sphere of their own homes as well as other homes.

**Internal Migration:** Migration from villages and town in the state of Maharashtra and India is common and occurs several times in the lifespan of a person. Reasons vary from marriage to eldercare and life as a senior citizen. This movement is not accounted for in making the housing policies.

**Care: Elder Care:** Care work for older parents is traditionally the role of the children and reproduction happens primarily for care purposes. This responsibility of care work is also a main reason for migration of families to and from Mumbai.

**Care: House work:** Cooking, cleaning, getting everyone in the family ready for work is a role traditionally taken up by women. This Housework takes precedence over other activities that the woman is involved in.

**Care: Day Care:** Day care centers or 'aanganwadis' are common in every area, usually state or NGO run.

**Community:** Eyes watching: People living in the areas are know their neighbors very well and can spot a new person easily. This brings a sense of safety but also keeps a watch on surveys or other activities carried out by the state or private persons.



**Livelihood: Home based work:** Many women engage in home based work such as jewelry making, selling clothes out of their homes. This allows for time for childcare and other house work while giving them some financial freedom.

**Livelihood: Daily wage work:** People living in slums are an integral part of production of the city through daily wage work such as construction work which is not guaranteed every day. The jewelry making work is also based on everyday capacity of women to produce more or

less.

**Access: Movement:** Transportation to and from the city is a big challenge as buses are infrequent and not reliable. Most people depend on shared autorickshaws that often cost more.

**Desire: ability:** Fulfilling the desires of their children becomes a priority for women whereas their own desires as simple as wearing different clothes have to be left behind.

**Desire: free mobility:** Ownership over their own mobility to go around the city through owning an autorickshaw and learning to drive it for example is a desire that would give more freedom to women.

**Care: Childcare:** Childcare in addition to housework forms the centre of most women's lives around which decisions of having paid work revolve.

**Care Network:** Tuition classes: Some college educated men or women in the area run after-school classes for kids up to middle or even high school.

**Sense of Safety: Physical:** Increased policing according to some residents of the slum settlement has improved the general sense of safety.

**Intergenerational struggle:** Adults who had to grow up in the slum settlements find it an unpleasant environment for their kids to grow up and have a 'good life'.

**Hope:** Hope becomes a form of occupation - in the hope of getting rehabilitated

**Access : Water:** While this area does not face a water shortage yet and are several taps with running water across the slum, the labor of filling water from the taps and bring it back home remains largely a women's role.

**Access: Education:** A large amount of the family's earnings goes towards the education fees. This is exorbitant when there are 2-3 kids in a family. Getting an education in English medium is increasingly important and the cost of tuition classes is an add on.

**Ability to Participate:** Participating in struggles of housing means sacrificing the day's work and childcare which hinders people's involvement in these processes

**Good Life:** Where the environment for growth of children is good, meaning people around are also good people and not goons and drug addicts. A house built of sand and cement with four sturdy walls.



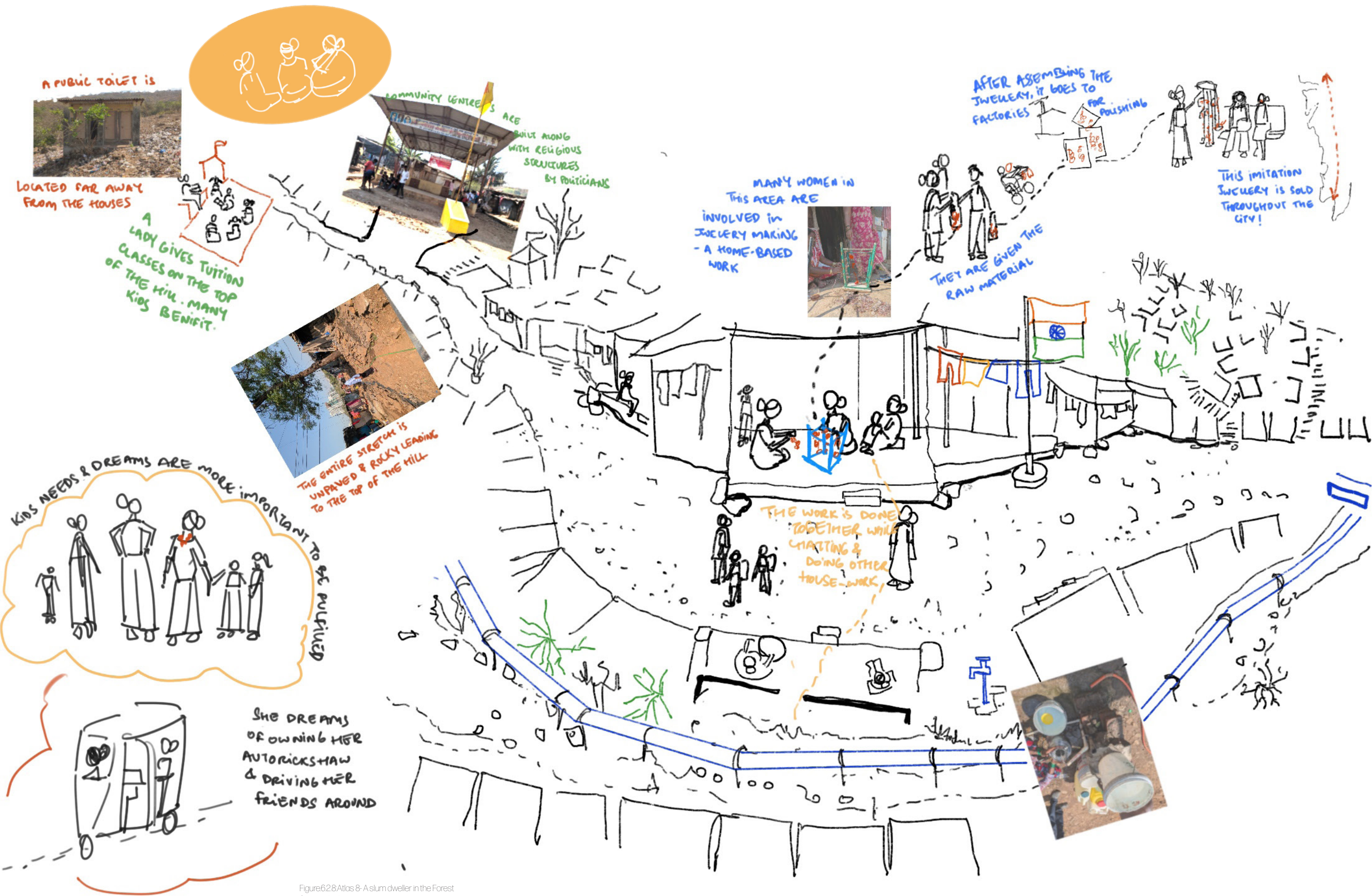


Figure 6.28 Atlas 8 - A slum dweller in the Forest  
Source: Author.



A PUBLIC TOILET IS

"Our kids go to the tuition classes up there."

"The study in English medium & I cannot teach them everything so we have this extra cost"

चांगल बनायच तर चांगली लोक पाहिजे, चांगला माहोल पाहिजे

"If I want my kids to be good, they will need good people & GOOD ENVIRONMENT around"

This is our everyday routine. Cook, clean, take care of the kids, go to other people's homes for household work, come back & sleep. Next day the same again.

"But in our area one thing is good. People made sure to invest in their kids' education"

The government should do something about this soon. We have applied for a rehab flat since 2008. We pay taxes on everything. It is their responsibility. We do not have the time to get into this. We need to watch our kids & do our work.

लेय मुश्कील ने राहतो इये

"Life here is difficult. This environment is not suitable for our kids"

"Back in the day murders were also common. But the police has improved a lot now."

मुल बाळ बघनार की या भातगडी पडतार

"Very young people are addicted to drugs"

"Eye-teasing छेड-खानी happens a lot here. Especially with women who are new here"

"Some people who got rehab come back. They cannot afford to pay high maintenance electricity, etc. it makes sense no? here you can buy vegetables for ₹10 & eat but in buildings, that is not the case"

"I have never worn a jeans pant. How will it look good on me? I am quite old. Now will I buy them for my kids or myself?"

हमारा जिंदगी कटा है। हमारे बच्चे लोगो का नही कटना चाहिए ऐसी गंदी जगह पर

"We spent our lives in this dirty place. We do not want the same for our kids"

"Water is abundant in our area, but we have to fight for filling it first sometimes"

"I will learn to drive autorickshaws from my friend. She stands up there. Then I will give free rides to you all"

"This drain saves us when there was a fire on the other side. It did not reach our area"



6.2. Network of social reproduction in the SGNP forest

The process of mapping revealed dimensions of life that occur across scales from one’s body, to home, community, park and the city. I call these dimensions of life ‘elements’ that make reproduction of life possible in Adivasi padas and slum settlements in and around SGNP. The key elements of social reproduction identified through the atlas are clustered as Practices, Struggles and Occupations. This clustering emerges from the atlas and supporting social reproduction theories that emphasize the lived dimension of housing beyond affordability, scale and amenities.

**Practices** of social reproduction are the plural ways of living and the processes that are valuable to people. They not only enable life and survival in the everyday, but also throughout the lifespan of a person. Care work and community practices emerge as a strong theme across practices of social reproduction. Life is reproduced in an ecosystem and not in a isolated ‘home’. In the case of the Adivasi community this ecosystem of practices include the natural environment, cultural practices around it and embodied knowledge passed down through generations. A social ecosystem emerges strongly in the case of slum settlement, where community relations and livelihood form the base of everyday practices.

**Struggles** are the obstructing elements that need people to overcome for everyday survival. These struggles also occur intergenerationally. The disablers are not natural but often deliberately planned by state. Access to basic amenities, education and livelihoods is a recurring struggle faced by people. Overcoming them requires additional effort and negotiation. Access to electricity for example requires people to pay extra prices to illegally acquire electricity from private parties. A large part of the struggles cannot be overcome and have to be faced by people; such as loss of land for farming and animal rearing rights for the Adivasis. Lastly, some struggles are intangible - such as identity in the case of Adivasis, or an isolated life that senior citizens have to face in rehabilitation flats provided by the state. Housing struggles are emotional spaces – where people bring heavy or destructive feelings (Gotby, 2025). “We will die but will not accept resettlement” - Adivasi communities on media. “Generations have been waiting in the hope of getting a legitimate house” - resident from the slum settlement.

**Occupation** is the daily acts, networks and resistance with which people live despite their struggles; occupying and reclaiming space is how people fight for survival. Care networks emerge as the strongest theme in occupation. For example, legal help from community members, NGOs, or other organizations and individuals make it possible to survive in uncertainty. Imagining a ‘good life’ which does not necessarily comply with the mainstream narrative of home ownership is a major part of occupation as a way of social reproduction in these areas.

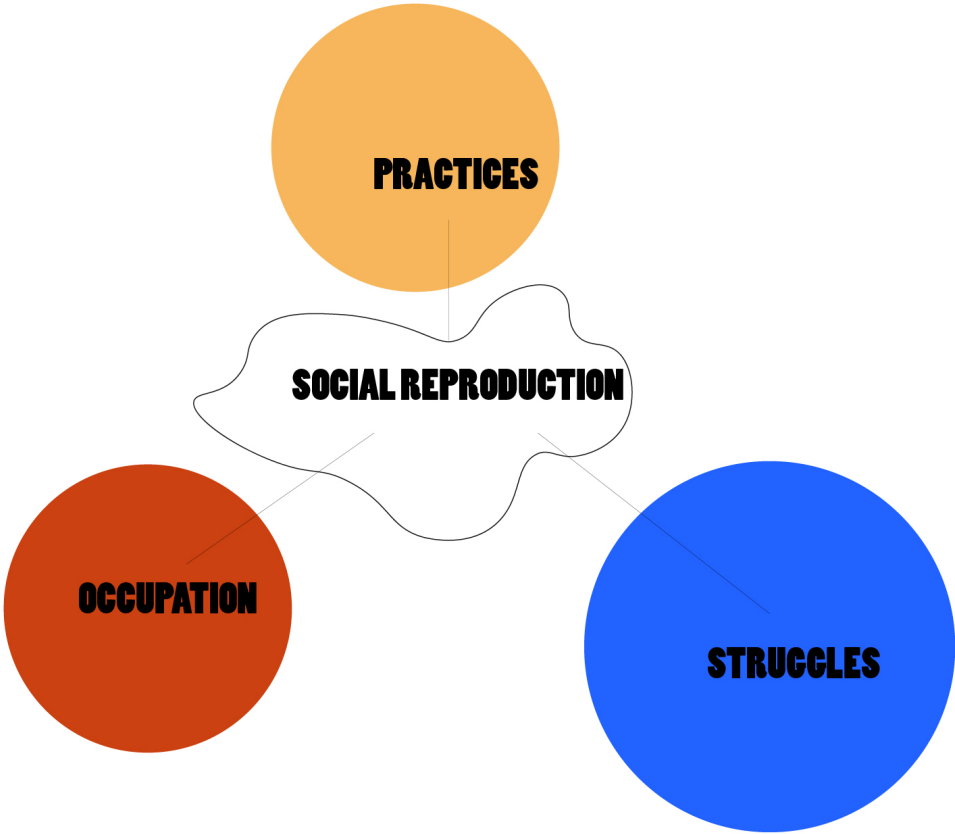


Figure6.3:Social reproduction clustering  
Source: Author.







### 6.3. Conclusion

This section reveals what is made invisible by top-down planning and policies; that everyday life in contested areas is shaped by a relational network for practices, struggles and occupations by people.

First, Slums and Adivasi padas are very different contexts with distinct communities but are both marginalized when it comes to housing in the city. Through this section, I attempt to identify commonalities in reproduction of life in these two distinct communities. Opinions of people on housing and resettlement differ between people even within the same settlement. An emphasis on identity and plurality is a core part of this section, which needs to be accounted for in housing not as standardized solutions.

Secondly, Social and spatial struggles are reproduced through deliberate spatial and political exclusion. Struggles thus become intergenerational. Ambiguity in planning and the information disseminated to people aggravate the struggles faced by people. The city depends on these networks of social reproduction while also criminalizing them. Without these practices, the forest and life in suburban Mumbai would cease to exist.

Thirdly, mapping the network of social reproduction validates the learning from the previous section - that housing and environment are a part of one ecosystem and function together in the lives of people. Ecology is also socially reproduced through everyday practices and indigenous knowledge. Social reproduction sustains both the city and the forest.

Lastly, housing is an infrastructure for life. Life depends on survival, but needs at every stage of life need to be taken into account. Planning systems need to adapt to designing housing around life cycles of people.

Aspirations of a 'good life' are crucial part as well as an outcome of social reproduction. Good Life, thus, needs to be redefined radically. The networks of social reproduction need to be adapted in the next stages in planning and designing not just a framework, but by the urbanist through embodying the struggles, occupying by hacking and designing in a way that strengthens the already existing practices.



Figure 6.5: A forest of graveyard - a speculation drawn from one of the interviews - 'how can you resettle all our ancestors who are buried in this forest'  
Source: Author



Figure 6.6: Speculation of the historic landscape of the forest as narrated by the interviewees  
Source: Author



## Ch7: Not A Framework for housing



Figure 7.1 Poster for the  
'illegal urbanist' workshop  
Source: Author.

### SRQ3: How can urbanism emerge from everyday practices of social reproduction?

Learnings from the previous sections at the intersections of housing, environment, and social reproduction call for an alternative way of approaching the system of planning and design of housing. I propose to look beyond the usual tools of planning, i.e. plans and frameworks to critically rethink the role of the urbanist and the actions we need to take. This chapter first dives into what already exists, i.e. housing frameworks and schemes- best practices celebrated at both the global level and the local scale of Mumbai. These are compared with the learnings from chapter 6 - the aspirational 'good life' that emerges from the interviews and the atlas. In the second sub-section, I revisit my positionality and roles I have assumed until now as a planner and designer. Overlaying these with an aspirational "illegal urbanist" that we created collectively through a workshop with my peers at the urbanism department, I argue that the construct of illegality needs to be disrupted by embodying it to radicalize the planning process. In the final sub-section, I propose a manifesto, "What if illegal was legal?" that counters the mainstream planning processes by addressing the root of the issues evictions – the process of housing and environmental planning. This manifesto is a call for action to planners, designers and citizens to disrupt the status quo and do things differently.



## 7.1. Why not a Framework?

There exists a constellation of frameworks and schemes proposed by international organizations such as the UN-Habitat, World Bank and many others practices, academics and students which address the issue of housing precarity. Housing frameworks exist everywhere, yet injustices such as evictions persist. These proposals have covered most grounds ranging from measures for adequate and affordable housing to, at rare moments also dignified housing. Through its adequate housing agenda, the UN-Habitat aims to “ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums by 2030” (UN-Habitat, n.d.). It focuses on affordability as a main parameter to compare adequacy in rural areas as compared to urban, recounting that slum upgrading and adequate housing have an equalizing impact in the distribution of prosperity. While such frameworks provide solid and innovative ideas, they build upon what is considered normal, leaving behind the most important question of housing as a site of social reproduction. In this section, I briefly use a framework, a resettlement model and a scheme to argue that we need to build upon these but more importantly rethink our role in ensuring that the housing question starts from social reproduction.

In their recent 2025 framework “Toward inclusive solutions to urban displacement”, the UN-Habitat proposes critical shifts in mindset for governments and organization that lead to a set of foundational principles and also prescribes programmatic elements for holistic responses to urban displacement (Un-Habitat, 2025). The mindset shifts urge governments to systemically change outlook towards those affected by displacement, and approach solutions as a pathway for development rather than a one-time project. The principles they propose follow this lead, to also build upon existing systems and agency of people. It advocates for participation and iterative planning exercises for displacement affected communities. While it does hint towards treating housing as a place of growth and reproduction, operationalizing guidelines for this framework remain fuzzy. A lot of emphasis is on outlook whereas it does not tell us much about addressing the roots of the displacement issue.

The establishment of the Slum Rehabilitation Authority in 1997 and its work towards making slum-free cities was celebrated as a milestone in Indian planning history specifically because it promised resettlement to affected people without relocation. However, it was always focused on providing tenements in vertically stacked towers, that could now be legally owned by displaced people. Its policies later shifted towards market-based housing; that allowed builder led slum rehabilitation projects. Most of these colonies today are plagued with health, safety, and security issues (Indorewala, 2018; Bhide, 2008).

Another celebrated scheme for low-cost housing in the city was the site and services scheme in Charkop, Mumbai, funded by the World Bank in the 1980s. This was aimed at providing incremental and affordable housing solutions to low and middle-income groups. This scheme provided people with plots of land and basic services through the municipality to build their own houses. This was initially considered a failure but the scheme saw great flourishing later

as it grew to be a mixed-income and mixed-use neighborhood. The housing societies withing this scheme are, however, now falling back on the trends of the city to undergo builder led rehabilitation.

When these frameworks, policies and schemes are viewed through the lens of social reproduction and its practices, struggles and occupations, it can be realized that adequacy in housing is not enough. Housing is more than shelter. It is a place where life is reproduced. It cannot be separated from the reproduction of the social, ecological, and cultural components that are an integral part of the life of a human. An alternative that disrupts the financialization of housing is desperately needed. To move towards this, what is defined as ‘good living’ by the mainstream housing market needs to be challenged.

When probed about aspirations of a ‘good living and a good house’ residents from the Adivasi padas and slum settlements around SGNP have diverse responses which do not really lead to property ownership. What is aspirational is care – from childhood to old age. Recognition, dignity, and respect of their distinct identities, a say in their own futures, their social networks along with basic services and most importantly to just let them be who they are. Can we co-create radical imaginaries with aspirations of people?

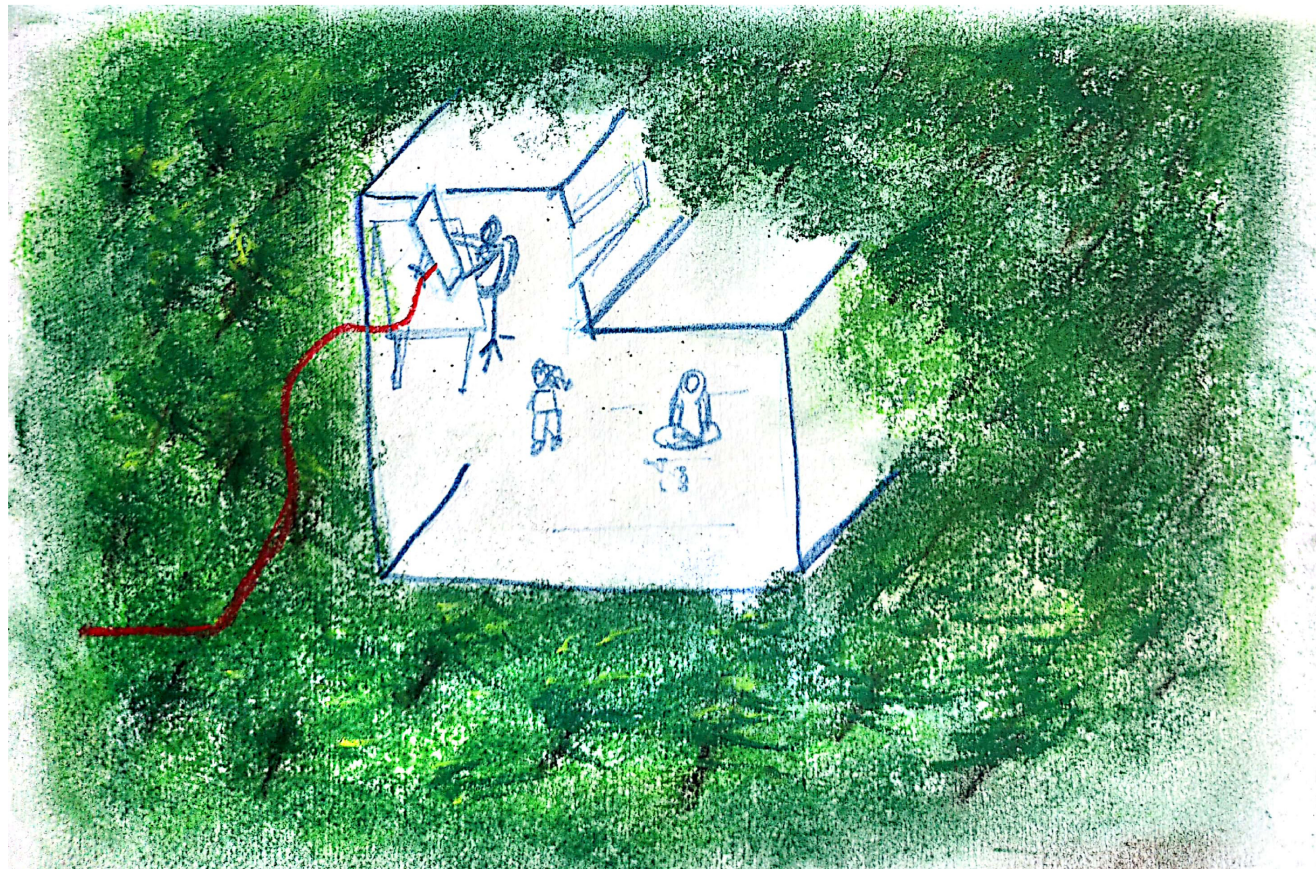
**The purpose of this chapter is not to criticize frameworks, goals and schemes but to acknowledge that they exist and that we need to learn from their successes and failures but move towards a more radical approach. Best practices exist. Making another framework would will only add to another one to the list of unrealized projects. Inspired by grassroots initiatives in Mumbai, and projects such as the anti-eviction mapping project, situated practices such as Urbz, I refuse to use another technocratic tool of planning. Instead, I would like to use this opportunity to set a base by rethinking my role in my future endeavors.**





***“I want to have a say in  
how my house and my pda  
should be like”***

“माझे घर आणि माझा पाडा कसा असावा हे  
मला विचारूनच झाले पाहिजे ”



**“Water, Electricity and Internet  
connection along with my people are  
enough. I can live with these even if  
you ask me to live in a dense forest”**



## 7.2. Rethinking my role

The journey of this research and a proposal for alternate ways of looking at the issue of evictions, probes me to first critically rethink my role as an urbanist in the existing system. To do this, I utilize the rigor of my peers from the graduation cluster, 'designing by feminist values' at the department of urbanism to brainstorm what this could look like in the form of an "illegal urbanist". This is overlayed with my learnings from the site to redefine what steps need to be taken by the illegal urbanist to ensure justice in housing and environmental planning. This step of rethinking my role stems from my discomfort in operating within the existing boundaries of urbanism to propose another intact framework or plan that is made without the involvement of people.

In retrospect, the roles I have taken in the past few years have made me realize that I need to adapt to changing situations while holding my values intact. As an architect after graduating from architecture school, I designed homes, resorts, institutions, and landscapes for those with resources. During this time, I had the opportunity to work with an NGO in South India to design and build their office and living lab in an experimental farm. Here the power of doing it together with values and through networks of farmers, activists and academicians stood out to me. The care that communities put in for building something within limited resources was impressive when I got to be a part of building day care centers with communities and witnessed this in the slums of Delhi. Through the course of this thesis, the realization that urbanism needs to be done together only grew. Planning and designing –together- is something I would like to carry forward as a building block towards my manifesto. Thus, it does not make sense to me to create another plan or a solo imaginary as an alternative proposal to existing plans and frameworks for housing. I carry this as a core value towards the making of the "illegal urbanist".

Why illegal? Regulation, supported by legality, has been used as weapons of power to claim and tame land, resources, cattle, and people. This is achieved with the use of tools such as land use, master planning, nature conservation, etc. As settled through the findings of the previous chapters, illegality (or legality) in the context of Mumbai and other cities in India is constructed and modified to serve power. Insurgent practices in the form of self-building for example, have turned "illegal" over the course of years, although self-building and organization has long existed before the formalizing and institutionalization of city planning. I would like to ask: Is it hard to imagine a future where these practices which are now called illegal thrive?

If planning has defined and produced illegality, then the role of the planner needs to embody this illegality. This positionality of an illegal urbanist (that I urge you, me and everybody to be) is a prelude to the manifesto in section 7.3. The illegal urbanist emerges from the frustration of unjust practices, of things taking too long or not happening at all, and of uncertainty subjected towards people by the government. But she also emerges from hope – of occupations and struggles of residents, of care and love that she receives from friends, colleagues and the

communities she works with. She refuses to draw boundaries such as that of the national park, she refuses to comply with unjust planning norms, she refuses to assume, and refuses to be prescriptive. She is empathetic, patient, critical, curious, and unapologetic but also embraces her fears, lets herself make mistakes and at times does not hesitate to be naïve. Most importantly she always works with her network, through action, hope and joy and a belief that a better world exists!





### 7.3. A Manifesto

‘What if illegal was legal?’ is built through the enriching experiences I had interviewing people and countermapping social reproduction in the illegal settlements of SGNP. Created by becoming the illegal urbanist, this manifesto challenges the term illegal in the context of slums, Adivasi padas, farming villages, fishing villages and many more marginalized communities in Indian cities.

So, what does this mean- ‘illegal’ was legal?

That living with basic services was legal  
That caring for the forest was legal  
Or that living with nature was legal  
That caring for neighbors and the community was legal  
That aspiring a good education was legal  
And that reproducing life and the city was legal

Wait but his is all already legal isn't it? Isn't this how people already live or aspire their 'good life' to be?

This manifesto is a call for action urging fellow urbanists, planners, artists, activists and citizens involved in spatial practices to confront injustices by going to their roots – being radical. Radicalizing “Environmentalism” requires looking at ‘environment’ beyond biodiversity. Radicalizing “Housing” requires addressing it beyond shelter, as a site of social reproduction, and thinking about it through the lifetime of a human. This needs to start with Radicalizing ourselves and our practice. Let's attack the roots of where ‘illegality’ is constructed!

Figure 73: Vandalise the  
eviction notices  
Source: Author.



## **Map Differently**

**Look beyond the traditional starting points of land use and zoning. Zoning maps do not even go close to indicating how life is made possible on ground. Learn from everyday practices, struggles, and occupations that reproduce life to create alternative ways of mapping things that matter to people. I urge you to think – What if planning began from the infrastructures of everyday life rather than from abstract concepts such as land use?**

## **Rethink Value in Housing**

**To evaluate housing through affordability, tenement sizes, or densities means to reinforce the power of financialization in housing. Radical alternatives must refuse the idea of measuring to make sure what matters is addressed – care, values and well-being of the marginalized and their ecosystems. What if we started valuing how a life cycle of a person will be in that space?**

## **Hack the System**

**To address illegality, we need to embody it. Let's hack the maps, plans, and policies when the legal route seems to block us. Find your ways inside and outside the system. Attack from any side possible. If you are a citizen, I urge you**

**to concern yourself and challenge evictions, after all you could be illegal tomorrow.**

## **Disseminate the correct information**

**If you are a planner or an environmentalist or a policy expert, break down the big plans. Challenge the ambiguity that the state and their plans throw at us. Ask questions and demand answers. Why is there not even a location for resettlement, let alone a plan for the evictions? Why do we need to resettle people?**

## **Imagine with the pluriversity**

**Imagine collectively. Speculate and be radical. Create counter-maps that provoke people. Create to counter power.**

## **Do it Together**

**We are all partners. Occupations of social reproduction are built on care networks. Collaboration and co-creation are a our strengths without which we cannot counter power. Build community through trust. Stand in solidarity with already existing movements.**



# Ch8: Conclusion and Discussions

## 8.1. Conclusion

### **Main Research Question: How can housing act as a site of social reproduction in sites of environmental struggle?**

Using the mixed methods of analyses that combine a governance perspective with ethnographic fieldwork and countermapping help decode the role of social reproduction in housing struggles by tapping the roots of the eviction issue. The case of the Sanjay Gandhi National Park shows that the home and environment are intertwined in many ways and that nature is not separate from people. It also tells us that bourgeoisie environmentalist logics can be challenged through a feminist social reproduction lens of looking at the natural environments such as the SGNP forest in Mumbai.

### **Housing and environmental struggles:**

Housing becomes a site of struggle through systemically dissociating it from the environment. Environmental protection, that is claimed to evict the marginalized Adivasi and slum communities, itself is ambiguously planned. While environmental and housing governance both act in silos, housing policies have also failed to provide alternatives to those evicted. Planning and environmentalism instead become a tool that promote financialization of housing by removing people from it. Rehabilitation into flats is riddled with complexities of implementation and in the end reinforces the logics of financialization in housing. Environmentalism and housing thus become a site of struggle for the same group of people.

### **Housing as a site of social reproduction:**

Approaching housing through the lens of social reproduction reveals what remains invisible through the legal and economic narratives of housing. It reveals housing as an infrastructure of life that is maintained through a network of practices, struggles and occupations in environmentally contested areas. This urges us to look beyond market based logics for housing that emphasize on affordability, density, etc. It shows that housing needs to be based around the lifetime of a person – their care needs and aspirations.

It also shows the need to recognize plurality even within the same context, the life and hence housing of the Adivasi community and the slum dwellers are very distinct. People within the

same community also have distinct identities, need and aspirations and these nuances cannot be addressed through mass resettlement or affordable housing solutions. Intergenerationality forms a recurring theme across the fieldwork that is missed if housing is not looked at through social reproduction.

### **Deconstructing legality**

Much like the national park is a construct, legality in housing is also a construct that is shaped by power and judicial rulings. The categories of encroachers, illegal housing, park boundaries do not reveal anything about how a place is inhabited and made on a daily basis. Urbanists, Planners, Designers, Environmentalists need to question and deconstruct the narratives of legality. Using the lens of social reproduction and listening with care through the fieldwork opens new possibilities of where we start the housing question. It is thus imperative for any plan that tries to re-imagine the natural environment to keep housing at its core and radically rethink the idea of “legality”, “parks”, and “boundaries”.

## 8.2. Discussion

The main findings of the research reinforce the “Need to attack capitalist market-based housing from all sides”(Gotby, 2025). It showcases how ambiguity creates room for confusion and evictions and thus needs to be challenged. It shows that housing and the environment are not separate and are maintained through the network of social reproduction. Understanding their relation requires moving beyond categories such as land use, legality and affordability. It also reveals that the aspiration of a ‘good life’ form a crucial part of housing and inform the processes of social reproduction. These need to be challenged.

### **Relevance & Gaps:**

This research contributes to the ongoing debates on housing and environmental planning. By looking at housing struggles through a social reproduction lens, it is able to contribute to the housing discourse in Mumbai. The research also contributes to the discussions on environmental planning suggesting that it needs to operate together with housing.

The research opens up the need to rethink ways of mapping, measuring (if at all) and imagining housing through social reproduction. These are however not developed within the limited scope of this thesis and need to be explored further.





# Reflections

## Limitations:

This thesis is limited by scope and duration, especially for fieldwork, given the huge scale of SGNP. The fieldwork was done for a short duration of two weeks and only captures a particular moment in time. To understand the lifetime of a person, that the thesis argues for, would require much longer field based study.

There are several other Adivasi padas and slum settlements located along the periphery of the park. Each of these have unique conditions that cannot be condensed under the two sites looked at in this thesis. Plurality of these sites need to be looked at and nuances understood to compare whether and if a combined solution for the entire park is even possible.

Governance analysis requires a more thorough examination of all the policies per user group but is done at a limited capacity in this thesis to provide an overview of the key shifts in actors and governance.

## Feminism & I

My relationship with feminism has grown stronger with time and I am glad that through this thesis, I was able to channel it into my work. Thus the choice of the cluster Design by feminist values. Towards the last parts of this thesis – making of 'Not a Framework' - I started reading Sarah Ahmed's 'Killjoy Feminist Handbook'. Much of the inspiration and spirit of the manifesto comes from reading her book which gave me the validation and courage that I needed to step up and speak my mind. I identify as a Killjoy Feminist. Having feminism as a core value in my work helped me find a base in each step of the process, from slow listening in the fieldwork, to treating everyday life as knowledge, to using refusal as a method.

The process of this thesis has also strengthened how I think about emotions in my work. To honestly being scared of revisiting the topic of evictions after having worked with evicted youth in Delhi, I have now come to see that my emotions are my drivers and that they are very useful in channeling my work, building networks, and simply being human in the research process. During the course of my fieldwork, I maintained a list of frustrations which asks a lot of 'why's', for example, why does life of the Adivasis have to depend on the goodwill of the forest officer who keeps changing?, why is there a need for everything to be regulated?, and so on. These have influenced the last part of my thesis and made me believe creating another plan or framework was not the solution.

The lens of feminist social reproduction has unlocked new research interests that I hope to take up in the future. This again, does not remain just a research interest but has made things visible in my own life that I had not thought about earlier – housing, emotional labour, carework and many more. I do believe that the personal is political and this thesis gives me the strength to let it flow into my work.

## Becoming an Urbanist

This part of the reflection on becoming an urbanist is an extension of my positionality statement at the start of my thesis report. While the first few months of the masters journey for me were riddled with confusion and frustration, of coming back to academics after having worked in offices for three years. The pace of the quarters, their solution-oriented nature and a new context of the Netherlands, all added to my turmoil. They all required me to make quick decisions and draw as a 'master' designer. I joined this master program hoping to strengthen my skills, which exactly the quarters were doing. But this did not carry away the feeling of discomfort I had, of designing without people. Through this thesis I had the opportunity to critically rethink 'skills', exploring them through a feminist lens.



Now addressing the big question – what kind of urbanist do I want to be going ahead? Making of the illegal urbanist was an attempt to find answers to this question. Although I have always believed that I need to keep switching gears – from being a designer, to an activist to sometimes an active observer, this outlook has only strengthened through the process of this thesis. Courage and adaptability amongst many other feminist values is what I would like to build my practice upon. Throughout the journey of this masters, I have learnt to stay with the discomfort of the topics I research and new ways would emerge.

## On Participation

I started the journey of this thesis thinking that I would be able to develop some sort of a tool for participation in the context of communities subject to eviction, that would help them in real life to fight against evictions. But the nuances of the issue of evictions led me to rethink the whole meaning of participation and Sherry Ernsteins ladder that I always took inspiration from. Participation in this context of India is much more layered and complex than it would have been in the Netherlands. Participation in what? Was a big question that now I can affirm I still do not have answers to. This idea thus became broader to identify my own role and other planners who are the ones that need to participate in the issue of housing precarity first, rather than expecting it from the community. Building trust, which is one of the foundations of participation, is indeed difficult in the contexts of precarity and is not possible within the scope of six months. Thus failed my plans to do counter-mapping together with people.

Making the manifesto all by myself is again not something that I had expected. Through the making of the ‘illegal urbanist’ persona with my peers, however, I realised that the nuances of the context could not be better understood by everyone and that I needed to gain the courage and step up to write it this time. It is after all layered with all the conversations I had with the residents of SGNP.

## The process and the project

During the course of my research in the initial months, I decided to shift my case from the originally planned Yamuna river in Delhi to the SGNP in Mumbai. This led to some loss of time in the beginning but gave me the comfort of the city where I knew many people and I can hopefully continue this thesis through other mediums in the future. This decision was also taken partially due to the ongoing nature of evictions in the SGNP, which made it a strong case to study at the intersection of housing and environment.

Although, looking at the same issue of housing precarity in two distinct groups – the Adivasis and the slum dwellers, confused me throughout the entire process. I doubted whether I should focus on one of the two groups. But in the end this only strengthened the argument that plurality of the city needs to be catered for without romanticizing the life of any of the communities.

The term ‘rehabilitation’ came as a shock in one of our discussions with Irene. This opened my

eyes to what I had normalized before. Rehabilitation in its normal sense is used for changing something that is wrong, prompting that the whole existence of the Slum Rehabilitation Authority was to change the very way a majority of people live in Mumbai. This made the use of a feminist social reproduction lens way more crucial in my project and challenging normative terms such as resilience in communities. Sometimes, getting back the structures in a slum, for example after a fire is relatively quick with the help of communities which is perceived as ‘resilient’ but through a social reproduction lens is a struggle that emerges from state incompetency to provide housing.

Although the process of the thesis was an altering one for me in many ways, the last two months focused just on finishing the project. I had planned to originally elaborate on each point of the manifesto by making a social reproduction mapping tool, an anti-eviction cadastral map that questions the point of property ownership in lands with a history of evictions, a set of speculative fictions that provoke citizens, but this shall remain an ongoing process. I am now trying to partner with a local organisation to counter map the adivasi identity in Mumbai with one of the communities. do believe that this is just a beginning of something bigger.



# Bibliography

Armbrorst, T., D'Oca, D., Theodore, G., & Gold, R. (with Interboro Partners). (2021). The arsenal of exclusion & inclusion (Second edition). Actar.

Baviskar, Amita. (2011). What the Eye Does Not See: The Yamuna in the Imagination of Delhi. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 46.

Bhale, Pooja & Bhatti, Idris & Mayes, Rebecca. (2017). Sanjay Gandhi National Park (SGNP) A Concise Report. 10.13140/RG.2.2.14953.49768.

Bhan, G. (2009). "This is no longer the city I once knew". Evictions, the urban poor and the right to the city in millennial Delhi. *Environment and Urbanization*, 21(1), 127–142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247809103009>

Bhan, Gautam. (2013). Planned Illegalities. *Economic & Political Weekly*. 48.

Bhan, G. (2014). The real lives of urban fantasies. *Environment and Urbanization*, 26(1), 232–235. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247813514305>

Bhan, G. (2016). In the Public's Interest: Evictions, Citizenship and Inequality in Contemporary Delhi, First edition. ed. Orient Blackswan Private Limited.

Bhattacharya, A. (2025, October 10). India's bulldozer problem. The India Forum. <https://www.theindiaforum.in/politics/indias-bulldozer-problem>

Bhide, A. (2023). Structural violence in much more than neoliberal times: the case of slum redevelopment in Mumbai. *City*, 27(3–4), 483–500. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2023.2223880>

Brackel, L., Boelens, R., Bruins, B., Doorn, N., & Pesch, U. (2023). People in PowerPoint Pixels: Competing justice claims and scalar politics in water development planning. *Political Geography*, 107, 102974. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2023.102974>

Dupont, V. D. N. (2011). The Dream of Delhi as a Global City: The dream of Delhi as a global city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(3), 533–554. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.01027.x>

Edelblutte, Émilie & Gunnell, Yanni. (2014). The tribal populations of Sanjay Gandhi National Park, Mumbai (India): A brief political ecology. *Espace Géographique*. 43. 1-17.

Gotby, A. (2025). Feeling at home: Transforming the politics of housing. Verso Books.

Ghertner, A. (2014). India's urban revolution: Geographies of displacement beyond

Gentrification. *Environment and Planning A* 46 (7): 1554–1571.

Ghertner, D.. (2011). Green evictions: environmental discourses of a "slum-free" Delhi. *Global Political Ecology*. Routledge

Ghertner, D. A. (2012). Nuisance Talk and the Propriety of Property: Middle Class Discourses of a Slum-Free Delhi. *Antipode*, 44(4), 1161–1187. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00956.x>

Indorewala, H. (2026, February 4). Dispossession without rehabilitation. *Mumbai Mirror*. <https://mumbaimirror.indiatimes.com/opinion/dispossession-without-rehabilitation/articleshow/127916132.html>

Indorewala, H. (2026, February 11). The story of dust and death in the SGNP. *Mumbai Mirror*. <https://mumbaimirror.indiatimes.com/opinion/the-story-of-dust-and-death-in-the-sgnp/articleshow/128219040.html>

Indorewala, H. (2018). RESETTLING THE CITY: DISCRIMINATORY PLANNING AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEREGULATION IN MUMBAI.

Jain, V. Chennuri, S., Karamchandani, A. (2016) Informal Housing, Inadequate Property Rights Understanding the Needs of India's Informal Housing Dwellers. FSG Mumbai

Mastakar, R. (2026, January 28). Demolition row in SGNP: Tense scenes in SGNP as demolition drive triggers massive pushback. *Mid-day*. <https://www.mid-day.com/mumbai/mumbai-news/article/sgnp-eviction-row-demolition-sparks-uproar-in-sgnp-as-hundreds-protest-inside-park-23613898>

Miraftab, F., & Huq, E. (2024). Urbanizing social reproduction: (Re)thinking the politics of care in capitalist urban development. *Environment and Planning D Society and Space*, 42(2), 234–253. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02637758241230179>

Miraftab, F. (2009). Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South. *Planning Theory*, 8(1), 32–50. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095208099297>

Mostafavi, M., Doherty, G., & Harvard University (Eds.). (2013). Ecological urbanism: Ecological Urbanism Conference in spring 2009 at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. L. Müller.

Nivara Hakk. (n.d.). Borivali Sanjay Gandhi National Park Slum movement <https://www.nivarahakk.com/slum-movement-national-park.php>

Power, E. R., & Mee, K. J. (2019). Housing: an infrastructure of care. *Housing Studies*, 35(3), 484–505. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2019.1612038>



Shaban, A., & Aboli, Z. (2021). Socio-spatial Segregation and Exclusion in Mumbai. In M. Van Ham, T. Tammaru, R. Ubarevičienė, & H. Janssen (Eds.), *Urban Socio-Economic Segregation and Income Inequality* (pp. 153–170). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-64569-4\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-64569-4_8)

Shivkumar, R., Bjorkman, L., Shelar, S., Kudale, R., Bhole, Y., Dhinde, M., Medhatul, S., Jacob, G., Chandran, A., Sundararajan, S., Singh, S., Joshi, S., Varma, R., Syal, S., Sahay, A., Godambe, S., Jaiswar, S., Borkar, P, Pandit, G., Masurkar, A., Mawalai, M., Barap, D., Jain, R., Shastri, S., (2023) *A forest in the City*. Jehangir Art Gallery, Mumbai, India.

Stroet, W., Veen, A. V., & Vet, A. de. (2023). *Subjective atlas of Amsterdam* [Map]. Subjective Editions.

Tandon Urban Solutions (2025). *Draft Zonal Masterplan for Eco-Sensitive Zone of Sanjay Gandhi National Park*. Bruhanmumbai Municipal Corporation

The Missing Basti Project - Missing Basti. (n.d.). Missing Basti. <https://missingbasti.com/>

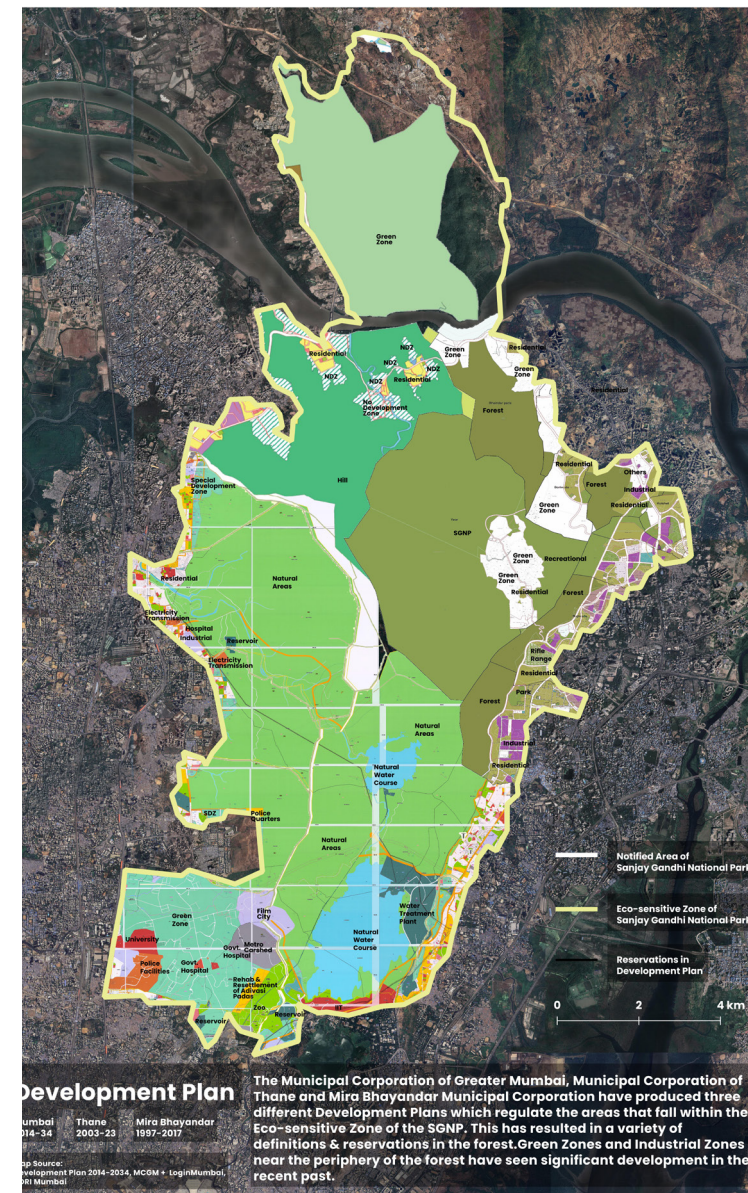
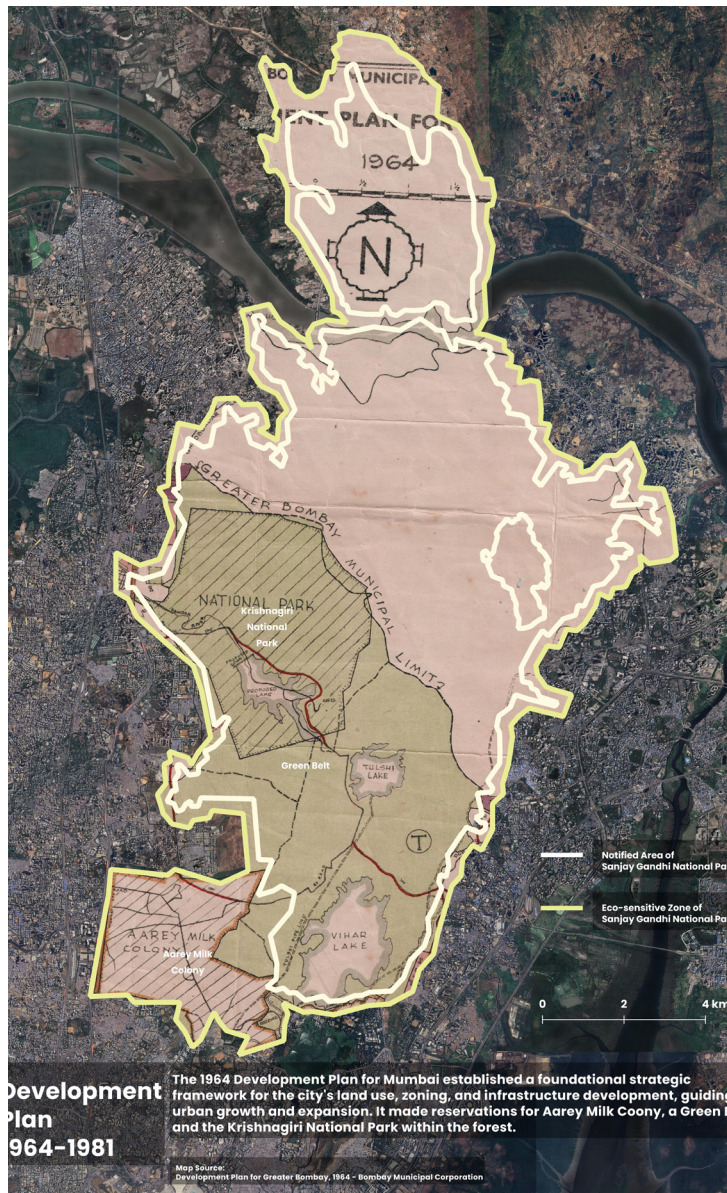
Tribunal Report. (2000) . *Crushed Homes Lost Lives*

UN-Habitat. (2025). *Towards inclusive solutions to urban internal displacement: A global framework for Governments, UN agencies, the Resident Coordinator System and partners*. <https://unhabitat.org/towards-inclusive-solutions-to-urban-internal-displacement-a-global-framework-for-governments-un>

Virani, S. (2026, February 3). Why demolitions in Sanjay Gandhi National Park triggered Adivasi protests. *The Indian Express*. <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/why-demolitions-in-sanjay-gandhi-national-park-triggered-ativasi-protests-10511009/>

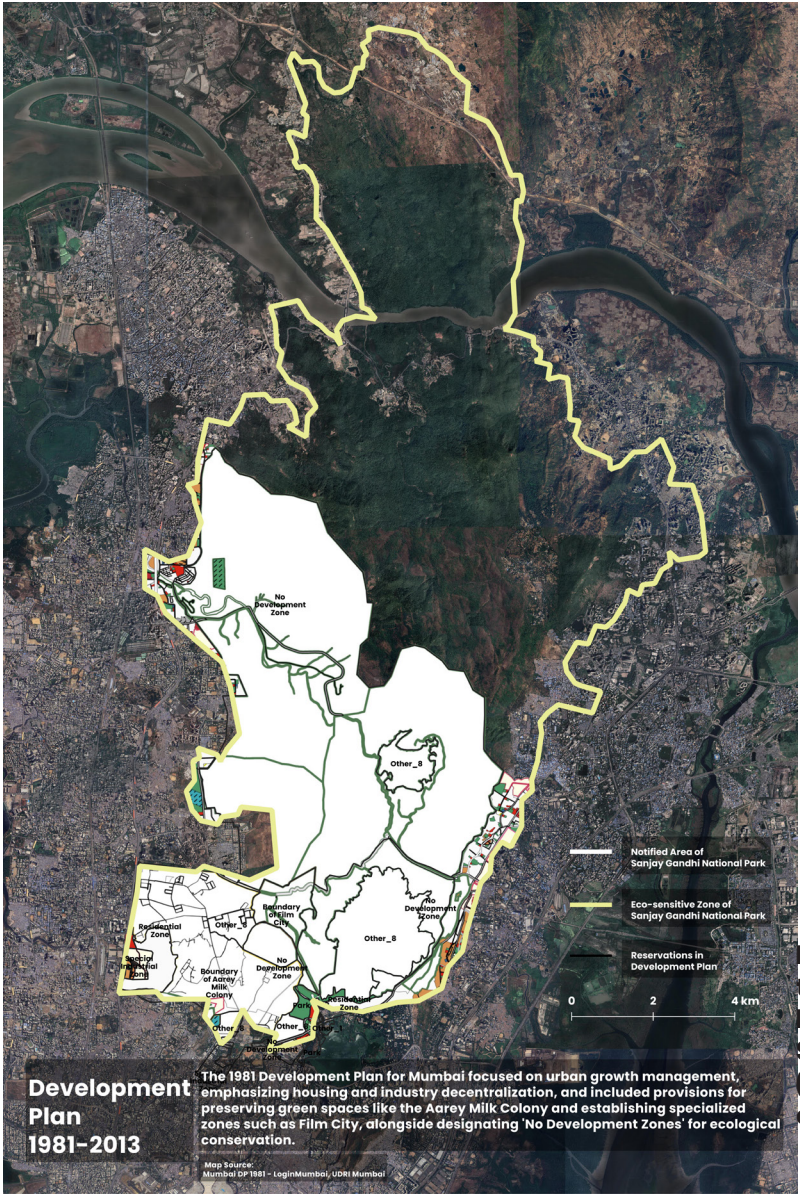
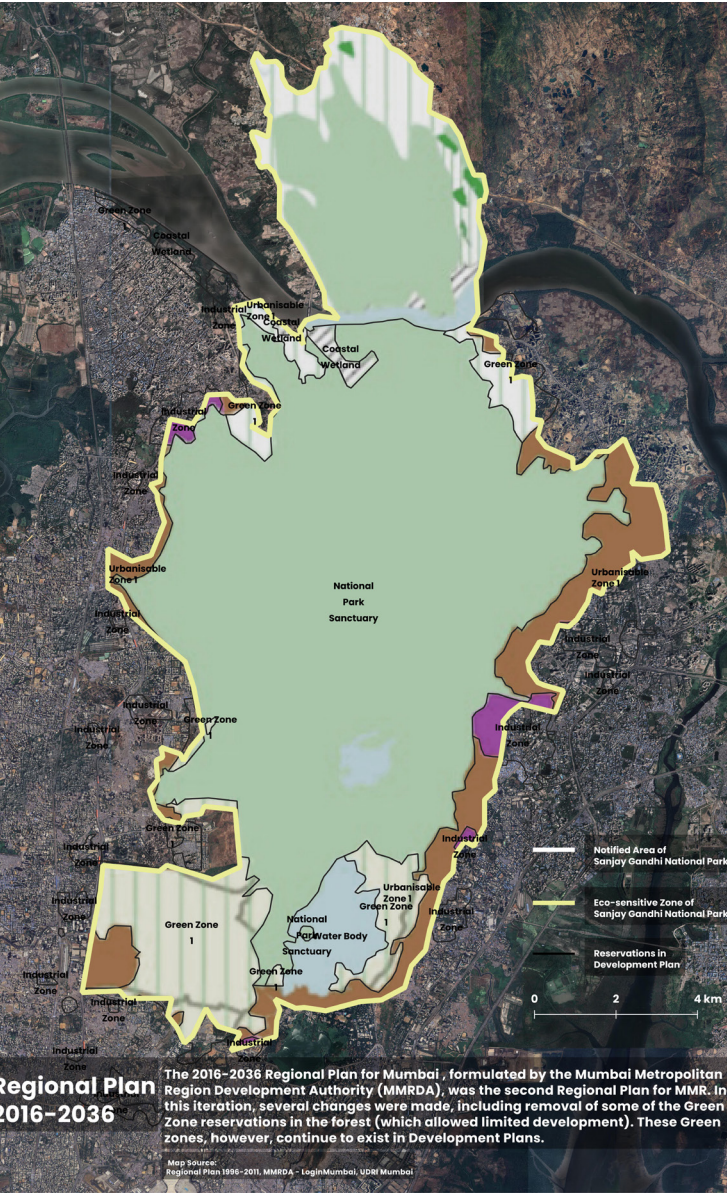
Zérah, M. –. H. (2007). Conflict between green space preservation and housing needs: The case of the Sanjay Gandhi National Park in Mumbai. *Cities*, 24(2), 122–132. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2006.10.005>





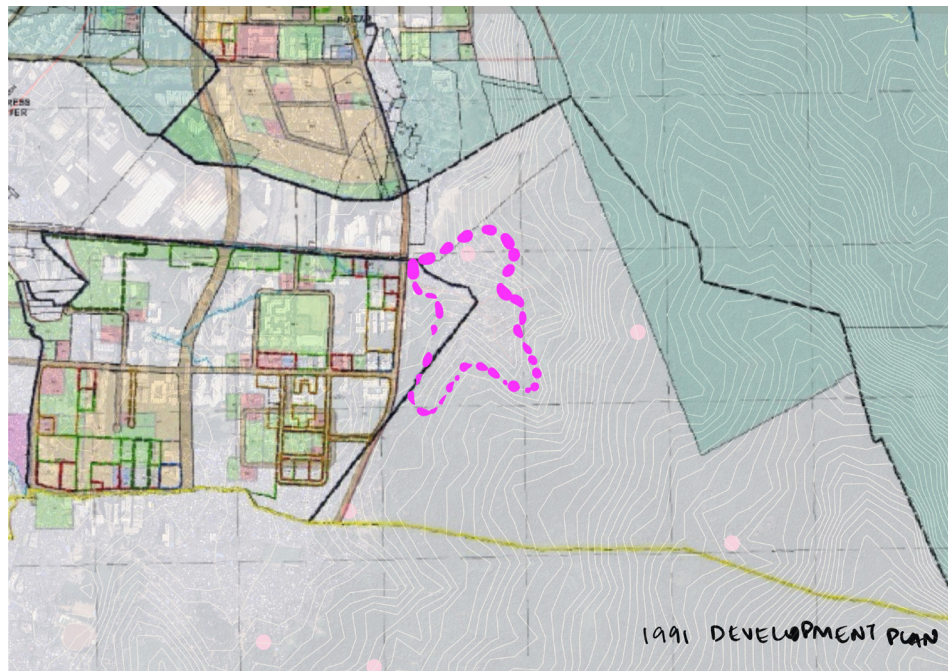
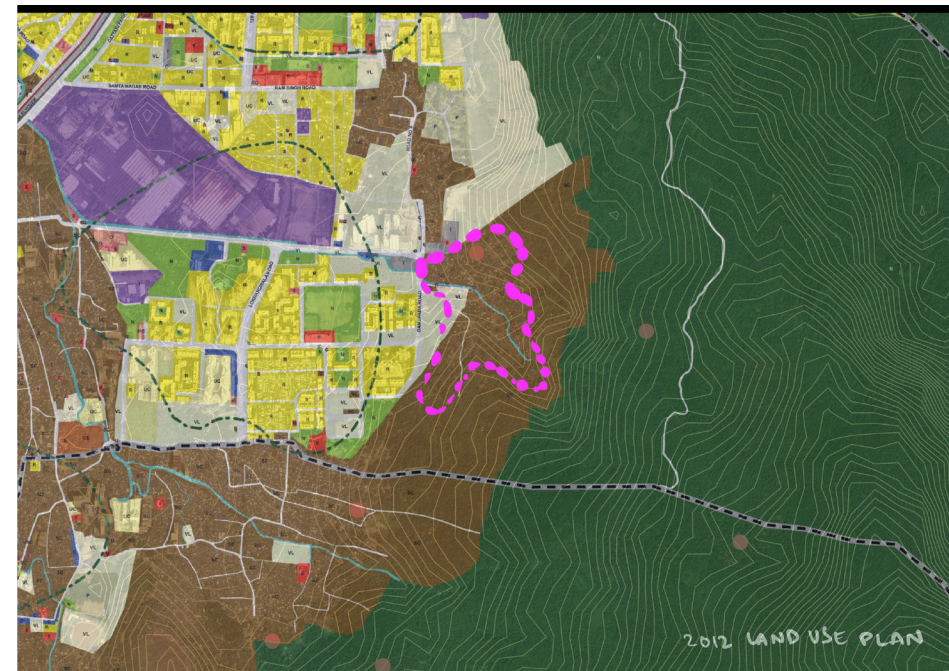
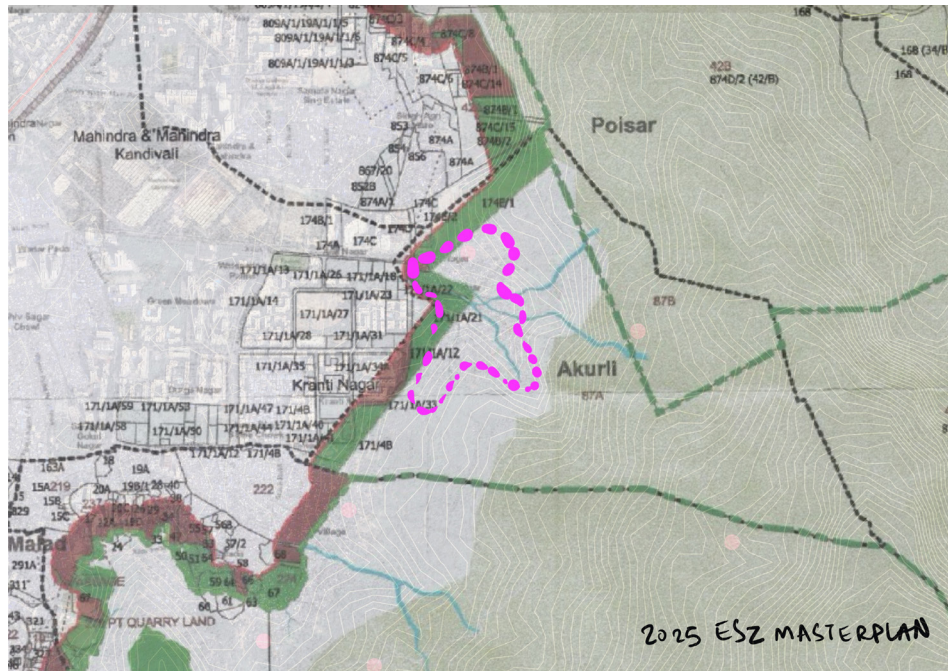
**Mapsets used to draw the Palimpsest. Source: (Shivkumar, et.al, 2023)**





**Mapsets used to draw the Palimpsest. Source: (Shivkumar, et.al, 2023)**

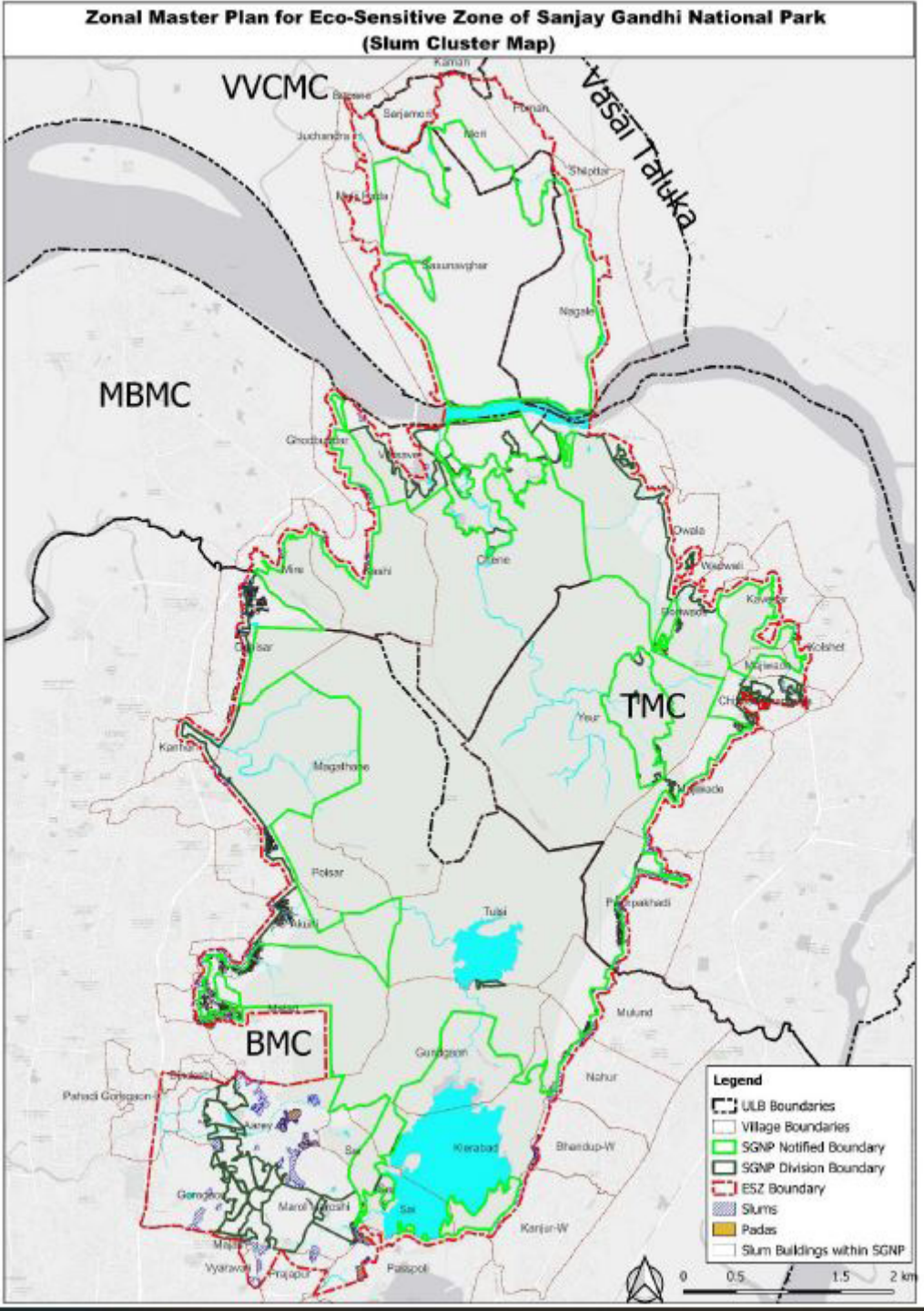




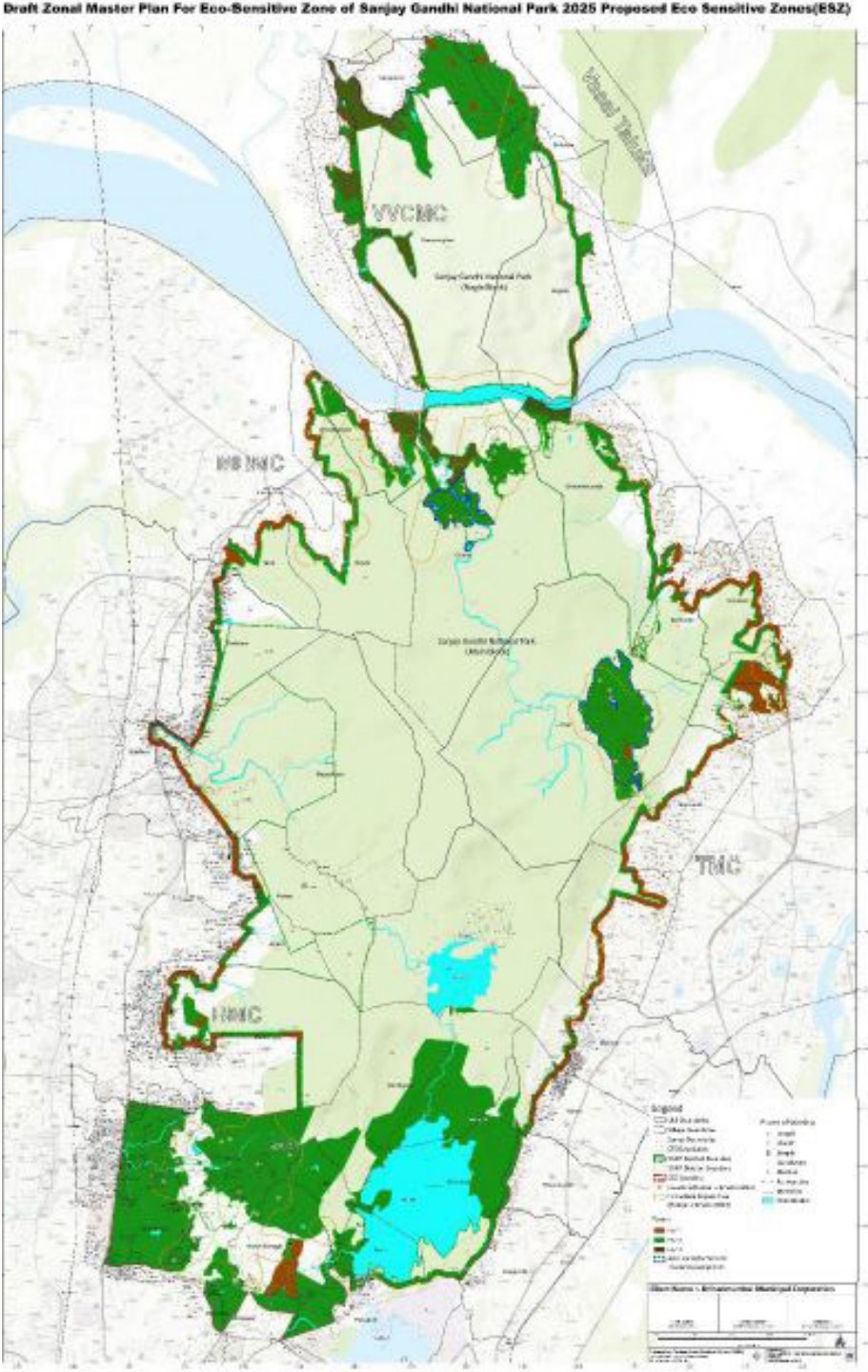
Comparing land uses of one of the slum settlements





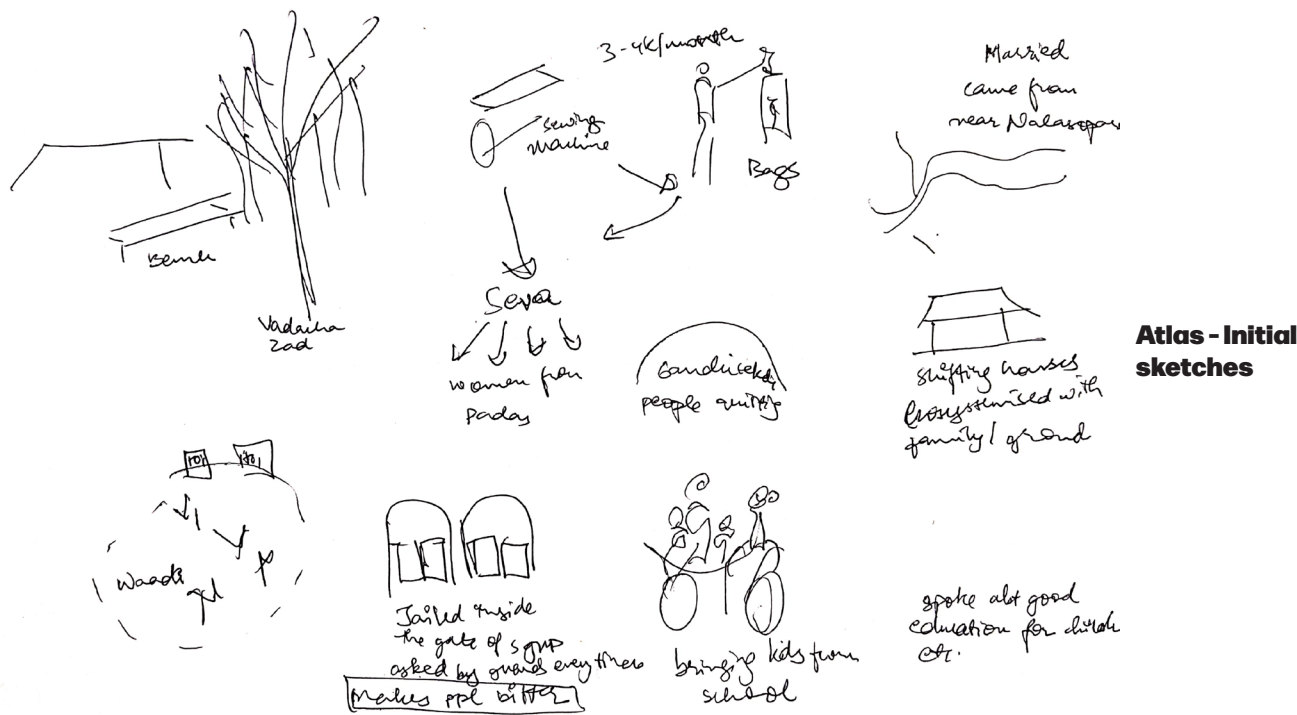
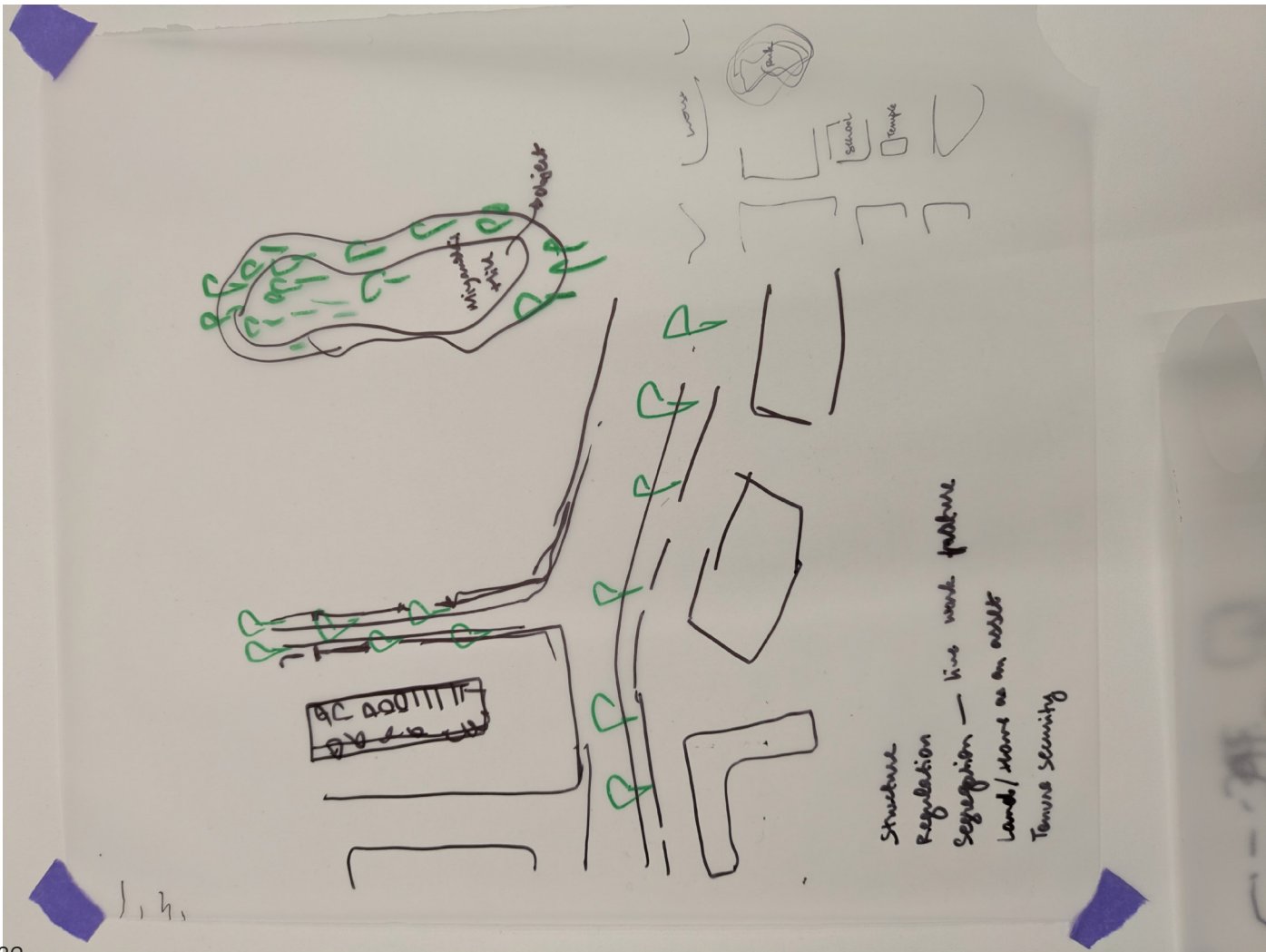
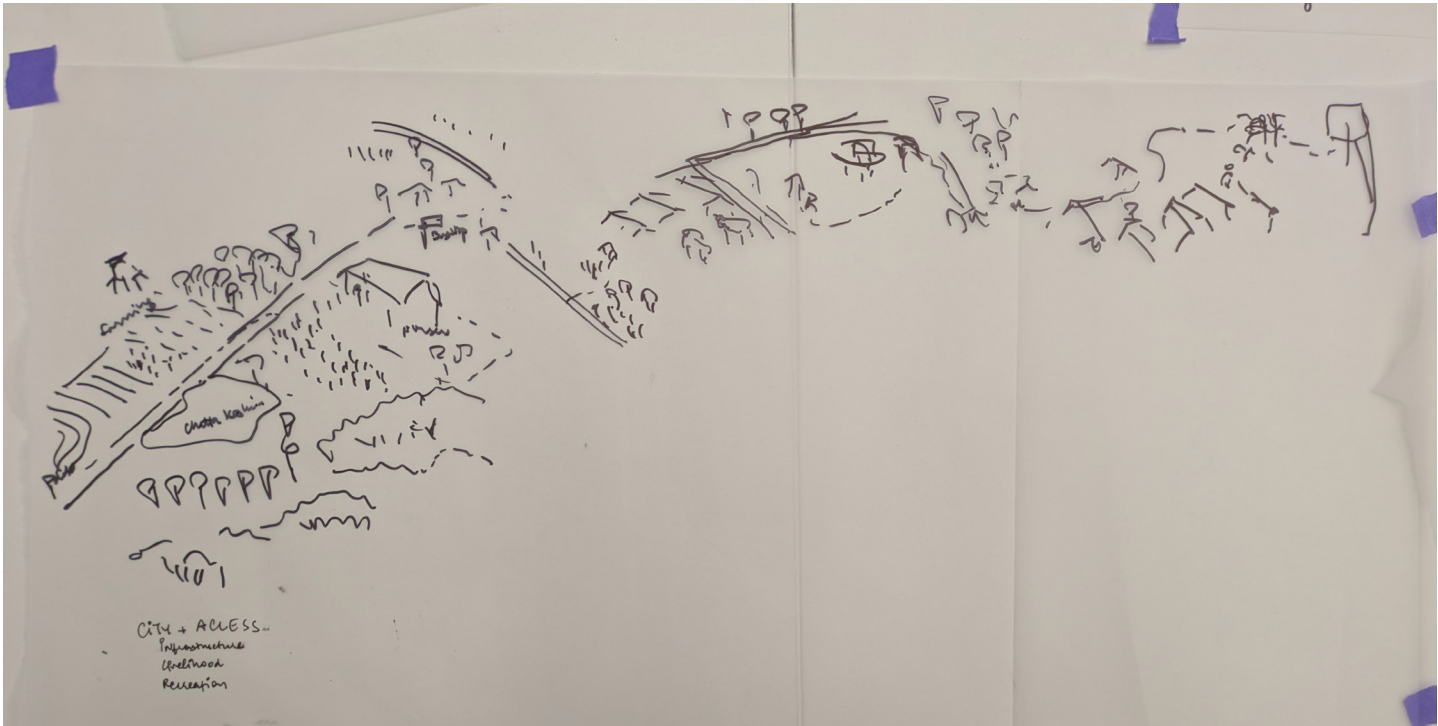


**ESZ  
Masterplan -  
slum clusters  
2025**



**ESZ  
Masterplan  
2025**

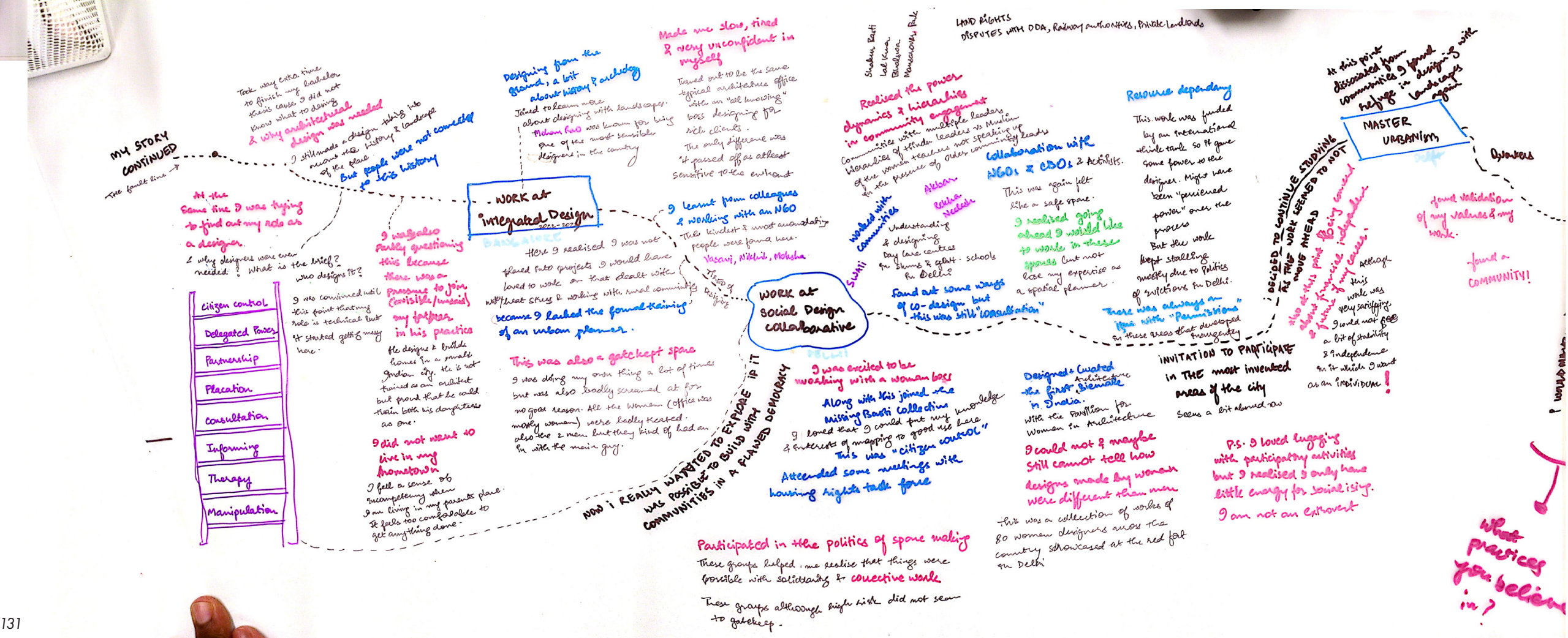






Being a "good girl"  
compliant,  
obedient &  
academic submissives

A LOT HAPPENED IN AHMEDABAD & COVID LOCKDOWN!  
9 May 23 about





Who is She?

Please Secret Agent

PERSONALITY SHE/HIS

normal Person - Queen, Mom -

Age 40 / 18

Gender

Sexuality

Nationality

as she live illegally in city?

LOVE for LIFE HOPE always

jute

FLOW

CULT FETTERIONIST?

ATREKAR bell hooks

middle aged

taken seriously?

FLUID

Papa longstocking

How should we call her?

What if she takes up one role & then when it if she is confronted & limited by "power" bodies, she can return/rename her role to continuing working towards her work without being contained in a box, this will have more complications, need to figure that out!

**DOES**

Flip the legality narrative?

Do it together  
**ALWAYS**

she provides an alternative  
(coming out of collective action)

she finds funds for 'protest'

she works through  
**HOPE AND JOY**

uses her privilege

looks 4 pro-bono lawyers to help defend their case?

FIND GREY AREAS!

IDENTIFYING LEGALITY AS A CONSTRUCT  
↳ CONSTRUCT HER OWN DEFINITION OF LEGALITY

MAYBE EVERYTHING someone needs, is a house/a house / needs should be legal + should be financial better

Eviction N/A NOT successful CHRS.

**Not make prescriptive plans and policies**

can she draw barriers?  
cracks?  
fissures?

**Not Draw Boundaries**

OR FENCES  
OR EDGES  
OR

Not make prescriptive  
plans and policies

NO DOES  
CARES  
ABOUT  
MARKET!

**NOT DO**

How does keep imagination alive?

Ante - Party

Psy-Marketing?

Does she use?

Demand that you live it & feel like it

What if the whole city was a shum? What if only living self - but was legal?

Believe in Alternatives!  
- Know how it could be done differently.

Use existing convincing practices.

called world / cult

ALLIES

KEEP TALKING  
KEEP SHITTING  
PERSPECTIVES  
KEEP QUESTIONING

Shum are a place of beauty!

Ref. zen (bubble tone)  
shape legale document

more money  
live - it of all - a to o

[illegible]

BEING A CATAL...

LINK/ANCHOR IN NETWORK OF ACTIVISTS

NOT IT DESIGN

TROUGH ACTION!!

In daily life

TROUGH INTEGRITY & Joy

connecting people, collecting info, making a platform, advocate w others

Action! is not always needed as present pressure is?

Mean something to me?

Play Dumb

NET WORK

How does she hack the workplace?

How would she take her seriously?

**How Does she work?**

**What words does she use?**

What is Alternative?  
↓  
is it just Posing?

Question what's adequate?

grey areas!  
pink areas!

Challenge existing planning vocabulary  
Formal  
Legal  
Planned  
Encroached

practices?  
multiplicity?  
intersectionality

गृहिक  
NAGRİK

HAQ  
हक

UNCOVERING THE PARALLEL REALITY OF FUNDS/NETWORKS WHICH CAN WORK TOWARD SIMILAR VALUES  
Critical Scholars

EQUAL CITIZEN

squatters

**Movements that inspire her**

**You**

- Activist agitation against Ken-Betwa link project
- black feminism
- Zapatista
- Narmada Bacho Andolan
- Development without Displacement
- GRETA THUNBERG
- FEMINIST VALUE CLUSTER
- squatters
- less critically: COBI, Thailand, Bangkok community saving groups, Baan Naosong programme
- CHIPKU MOVEMENT
- the illegal urbanist workshop
- "sentipensar" and other decolonial feminist concepts and their peoples
  - Escobar's you'vebe (carves) talk about them
- mahad satyagrah
- ECO-FEMINISM



